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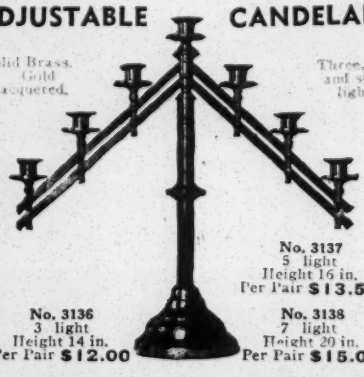

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

TENTH SERIES.—VOL. II.—(XCII).—JUNE, 1935.—No. 6.

THE CHURCH AND THE THEATRE.

I.

THE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT to purify the movies is but another example of the Church's historic struggle against the indecent in entertainment. Her position in this matter, so palpably just, is frequently misunderstood. It has always been thus. The well-intentioned sometimes conclude that there must always exist an hostility between the Catholic position and the theatrical world. Some historic names—Prynne, Collier, Hudson—come to mind as examples. The "stage contracted defilement," alleged Hudson, "and straightway the Church declares it to be beyond the limits of reform; it sank into the depths of impurity, and the Church condemns it as incapable of elevation. Because it has fallen into the *gutter therefore* [emphasis is Hudson's] it is naturally and irretrievably black," and, "the opposition of the Church to dramatic art must logically base itself on opposition to pleasure in general—the broad ground taken must be that all amusement is in itself wrong".[1]

The entire history of the Church's legislation gives evidence of an effort on her part to destroy those elements of decadence which have constantly threatened not only the well-being of theatrical art but also the faith and morals of those who sought pleasure in this direction. Let us examine the more important Church prohibitions; 1. of the early centuries of Christianity; 2. the legislation on the continent during and after the

[1] Hudson, William Henry, *The Church and the Stage*, London, 1886, ch. 5, "The Present Position of the Controversy", pp. 47 ff.

Middle Ages (to the adjournment of the Vatican Council); 3. and finally those canons operative in England about the same time. In each a rather general outline of the historic disorders in the theatrical world is attempted so as to make intelligible the Church legislation cited.

At the outset it is well to know that the Church has never been hostile to dramatic art itself, nor to the theatre, especially when that source of amusement has been free from corrupting influences. Faith and morals are the treasured interests of the Church not only in the present attack on unclean movies but also are they conspicuously evident in her legislation against the theatres of the past.

When Tertullian was writing his criticisms against the theatre of his day, little or nothing of what Rome had imitated from the Greek dramatists held any interest for the public. The Renaissance was needed to vivify again the works of the Greek and Roman writers. No great tragic drama flourished in Rome, although both tragedy and comedy had been introduced about 240 B. C. by the Greek Livius Andronicus. Both forms had been subordinated to the *spectacula* of the Roman festivals and also to the chariot-race and gladiatorial show. Farce crowded out both tragedy and comedy. Lack of ability to appreciate the essence of Greek mythology is, thinks Schlegel, the explanation.[2] Roman comedy too, which had imitated Greek manners, had lost its appeal. This weakening of interest dates from the time of Pompey (106-48 B. C.) Pantomines and farce took the place that a literary drama might have had. The "Mime," a play farcical in character but still treating of Greek ways, became a popular part of Roman amusement. Some well-known farces were the *Satura* and the *Oscum ludicrum,* the latter, a low species of domestic humor described as a "bantering comedy".[3] Those who produced them were dubbed "dealers in indecencies" and "buffoons".

Spectacular productions soon began to interest the public. Large theatrical structures were built into which crowded

[2] *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern,* from the German of Frederick Schlegel; Philadelphia, 1875; John Frost, translator; p. 74.

[3] *Ibid.*

slaves and foreigners wildly demanding the unusual and sensual and thus pushing into the background every lingering opportunty for fine histrionic art. Three chief sources of amusement, a degraded theatre, the circus games and the combats at the amphitheatre gained steadily in their popularity. Conjugal infidelity became the favorite farce theme, and real tragedy, actual death and bloodshed, could be witnessed under organized control.[4] Commenting on the frank realism of the theatre and on the impurity of the Roman festivals, Chambers observes that " unchaste scenes were represented with astonishing realism. Contrary to the earlier custom of the classical stage, women took part in the performances, and at the *Floralia,* loosest of Roman festivals, the spectators seem to have claimed it as their right that the *mimae* should play naked ".[5]

The *ludi* of the circus and the chariot race became more fascinating for the populace than did pantomimes and farce. Excitement, savagery was in the air. Animal baiting had a relentless lure. In the arena animals were pitted against each other, wolves and bears from the wilderness of Northern Europe and wild dogs from Scotland. From Africa were brought leopards and lions, and from Asia, tigers and elephants.[6] These helped to furnish the excitement of a Roman holiday. Animal baiting gave birth to gladiatorial combats wherein slaves, condemned criminals and captives were the first combatants, but later even knights, senators and women took part for the joy of the crowd. They fought in pairs, on foot, on horseback and in chariots. Large numbers fought at once armed with swords, lances and daggers. Often lassos and nets were used to catch the victim, and when caught, he was slain. A wounded gladiator could appeal to the audience for mercy by outstretching the forefingers; and if mercy were granted, handerchiefs were waved or hands were shown with the thumbs extended. Thumbs " turned in," writes Myers, signified death for the wounded warrior.[7]

[4] Chambers, E. K., *The Medieval Stage*, vol. I, p. 4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 565.
[6] Myers, Philip van Ness, *Ancient History.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 566.

The theatre and the circus were now second choices. Bound up with these amusements was the official and social life of Rome. Aspiring officials provided such sports generously to win the masses. As the liberty of the citizens waned, the entertainments became more lavish, for they were the rallying points, instead of the political assemblies, of an energetic people. It was the exchange they received from the emperors in return for the surrender of their rights of participation in public affairs. Rivalries among officials increased the number of these gladitorial shows. The emperors were the greatest spenders. At the dedication of the Flavian theatre, games and combats that lasted for one hundred days were furnished by Titus. Even a longer period was necessary for Trajan's treat in which ten thousand gladiators fought and more than ten thousand wild beasts were slain. And all this, not in far-away days before Christ, but in the very century which saw His death. Titus lived A. D. 79-81 and Trajan in A. D. 98-117. Is it surprising at all that the early Christian writers were tireless in their criticisms and denunciations of these pagan amusements? Is it to be wondered at that true dramatic art had been forgotten and that it remained so for many generations? Of this Frederick Schlegel writes: "It is but too evident that they who could take pleasure in spectacles such as these must very soon have lost all the tenderness of inward feeling, and all that sympathy for inward suffering, without which none can perceive the force and beauty of a tragic drama".[8]

The pagan festivals, because of the idolatry, superstition and immorality to be found in them were as so many additional chains which held the people in bondage. The *Saturnalia* took place on 17 December, during which time all the social and moral checks were disregarded. This festival, however, seems not to have shared the popularity of the *Kalends,* a feast which was originally on the first of March, but which in 45 B. C. was replaced by the January Kalends in the Julian calendar.[9] This celebration was an eyesore to churchmen and occasioned many objections from Christian leaders among whom were

[8] *Lectures,* etc., p. 75 ff.

[9] *The Mediæval Stage,* vol. 1, p. 233.

Chrysologus of Ravenna, Augustine in Africa, and Chrysostom and Asterius in the East. The Kalends did not die easily. In the eighth century they were being observed at the very entrance of the Vatican [10] and in the eleventh century a record of their continuance was noted by Burchardus.[11] One of the customs of this annual joy was the parading through the cities by revellers dressed in the clothes of women or in the skins of animals. The events of this day were regarded as omens (good or bad) of the coming days of the year. Lights and boughs bedecked the houses. Dice playing and drinking were a part of the celebration. The Floralia, as previously noted, was also an occasion for immoral purposes. "The *Lupercalia* and the *Floralia* were celebrated with a shameless disregard for decency, and the most obscene plays were presented in the theatres. The excesses of sensuality were carried to such a length that the natural means of satisfying lust were no longer sufficient, and recourse was had to the most degrading and unnatural." [12]

The revulsion of feeling and sentiment among Christians and even among some pagans consequent upon the degradation of the theatre and the inordinate love of the public for *spectacula* became articulate in the writings of the times. In the East St. Chrysostom, as priest at Antioch before 397 and later as patriarch of Constantinople, preached vigorously against the stage. Easter day of 399 was the occasion of a vehement sermon against pagan amusements. During Holy Week of that year the *ludi* of the circus had been especially prominent. On Good Friday the people had flocked to the circus, and on Holy Saturday to the theatres. The Churches were empty. Chrysostom threatened to enforce the sentence of excommunication provided for a few months previous by the Council of Carthage upon any one who would defy the laws of the Church on Sundays and holy days by going to the theatre and circus. What success in this matter the saint achieved is not known. Soon after this, however, legislation against those who turn holy days into days of mirth becomes frequent.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Alzog, John, *Universal Church History*, Dublin, 1883, p. 69.

Tertullian, the enthusiastic lover of asceticism,[13] two centuries earlier in his *De Spectaculis* had condemned the theatre, circus and amphitheatre, holding that these *spectacula* have been explicitly renounced by Christians at baptism. We have nothing at all to do, writes Tertullian, with the insanity of the circus or with the dishonesty or lewdness of the theatre.[14] Again, we renounce your spectacles because of their diverse origins and because of their idolatry and superstition.[15] By spectacles there is little doubt that Tertullian meant not only the *ludi* of the circus and the combats of the amphitheatre but also all theatrical exhibitions. A. Baumgartner in his *Geschichte der Weltlitteratur*[16] observes that without much ceremony Tertullian puts tragedy and comedy, together with the circus and the gladiatorial combats and all the other public amusements, on an equal footing, maintaining that they were all consecrated to the old Roman gods and served the lowest inclinations and desires of the people. As we see clearly from his treatise, Baumgartner writes, the theatre had fallen from its former moral heights into the depths of the lowest degradation. The impression of all these amusements was to stimulate lust, cruelty and idolatry.

Augustine and Jerome, the Latin contemporaries of Chrysostom, also condemned the evils arising out of these public amusements of the time. Let us not look upon the spectacles of the arena, the circus and the theatre, wrote Jerome, and Augustine with similar zeal declared that in the theatre base things—harmful to morals—were taught, dishonest things were heard and injurious matters were to be seen. The ruin of the Empire was brought about largely by the theatre, thought Crosius, a pupil of both Augustine and Jerome.[17] A host of other writers, too numerous to record here, arise to condemn the amusements which paganism provided. Minutius Felix, a

[13] Chambers, vol. I, p. 11, declares that "with Tertullian asceticism is always a passion".

[14] "Nihil nobis ductu, visu, auditu cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri," etc., quoted by Prynne, p. 557.

[15] "Aeque spectaculis vestris in tantum renunciamus in quantum originibus eorum, quas scimus de superstitione conceptas."—*Ibid.*

[16] Freiburg, 1911, p. 88.

[17] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 18.

Christian lawyer about the year 200, writes that we who are regarded for our morals and chastity, rightly abstain from your evil pleasures and your displays and spectacles.[18] Salvianus writes scathingly about the excesses of his time.[19] The passion for the "lubricity of the stage," declared Dill, "defied all the authority and moral influence of the Christian Church"; the public, he continues, had a stubborn attachment for the "indescribable enormities perpetrated in the name of art".[20] While the farce had its greatest vogue among the bourgeoisie, the rich of the more illustrious cities had no special claims to literary taste or exemption from sensuality. Chambers relates that Tacitus and Juvenal lamented that princes and patricians should lower themselves to practise arts that had been relegated to the *infames*.[21] Finally, the lament or utterance of Theophilus, Patriarch of Constantinople, coming very early as it does in the Christian era (A. D. 170) shows strikingly the reaction of the Christian mind against the times. We are forbidden, he writes, to witness duels, lest we render ourselves partakers of such slaughters. Nor do we dare to look at other spectacles lest our eyes should be stained by the sight of them, and our ears should drink in those profane songs which are there sung; nor should we listen while one commemorates the tragical deeds of Thersites. Neither is it proper for us to hear the adulteries of the gods and men which they moderate by an agreeable bribe of words, etc.[22]

In 400 A. D., according to St. Augustine,[23] the theatres were disappearing. Some years later a circus was still to be seen at Arles (461) as well as a theatre at Ravenna about 450. Chambers thinks a theatre must have been at Rome also because Sidonius had found one when he visited there in 461. The early part of the sixth century gives us the last date of any stage in the West and it approximates the time of the rule

[18] Quoted from Octavius Oxoniae, 1627, p. 123, by Prynne in a marginal note of his *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 558.

[19] See Book II, chap. I of *Roman Society* (2nd edit.), p. 139 ff., Samuel Dill, London, 1899.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[21] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 9.

[22] Prynne, *op. cit.*, p. 557, footnote.

[23] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 19.

of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The love of the Christians for pagan amusements had been hard to stifle.

The destruction of the theatres, the disappearance of true tragedy and comedy, and finally the ultimate overthrow of the other elements of the *spectacula* did not take away everything accompanying them. Vestiges of these ancient pastimes remained. They were to be seen in private life in the performances of *mimi* and *pantomimi* at the weddings and banquets of the great. The singers, "rhapsodes," who had formerly sung tragic songs upon the stage, were still to be heard. From every land came musicians and dancers of every description, also tumblers, strong men, and beast tamers. The choicest among them often had a public hearing in the remaining theatres or at the houses of the great. The others sought the streets and highways for the practice of their arts. The pantomimic dance had a vogue among the leisured classes. This dance is regarded by Chambers as a growth from the ruins of the literary drama.[24] Many of the *pantomimi,* he writes, "attained to an extreme refinement in their degenerate and sensuous art. . . . Their subjects were, for the most part, mythological and erotic, not to say lascivious in character." [25]

The dancers and singers were to outlive the stage itself. Not only were they conspicuous at banquets and weddings but at funerals as well. The house of mourning was not closed to these strange minstrels. Their sporadic performances were a boon for them. Adversity has made them chameleon-like. Changes of masters, newer audiences, unsettled tastes were to be observed in their efforts to please. The *mimi,* the actors of farce, found competition among acrobats. Tumbling and story-telling became a part of their repertoire, without, however, robbing them of their essential obscenity and buffoonery. Castle and tavern welcomed them in twos and threes. Nomadic in habits, they were preparing the way for the minstrels of the Middle Ages. The sixth century may be reckoned as their natal time—the time when the pagan amusement and the pagan ritual was dying hard. Up to the eleventh century their identity, while somewhat obscure, is largely the identity

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[25] *Ibid.*

of the Roman *mimi,* but not altogether such, for so to regard them, as Chambers says, would be a " serious mistake ".[26]

It was then with this background of paganism and immorality, this environment of superstition and idolatry, cruelty and violence, that the canons of the first ten centuries were concerned. It had been a long struggle for the young Church. We find from now on council after council legislating for centuries to come against theatrical affairs which had any semblance of paganism at all. We look in vain for any discrimination in the canons between legitimate theatrical entertainment and the admittedly bad elements in the amusements of the time. Ecclesiastics of those days feared, possibly, to provide such distinctions lest they be regarded as compromises and for fear, perhaps, lest the great abuses of the time should not receive a sufficiently decisive blow. Who knows? *Spectaculum* becomes a favorite word of the canonists of later years. It persists in ecclesiastical legislation even to this day. It is an old refrain, a convenient summing up, no doubt, of the threefold condemnation of the pagan theatre, circus, and amphitheatre which Tertullian made in his *De Spectaculis.*

As the specimens which geologists find in the various strata of the earth tell of the flora and fauna of a past age, so in a similar way have the pagan amusements just referred to been imbedded in the canons of the councils. We find prohibitions against the circus, against the theatrical elements which were a subordinate part of the *spectacula,* and frequently there are canons against hunting which seem to be direct legislation against the obtaining of animals for animal baiting. There is no profound complexity about the purport of these restrictions.

It is not surprising to find prohibitions against pagan customs. In the year 408 we have a canon relative to pagan festivals, presumably the Kalends, although not specifically mentioned. Feasts against the precepts of God are forbidden because they take place on the natal days of the most blessed martyrs and because wicked dances are performed which injure the honor and chastity of innumerable women and thus make difficult the practice of their religion.[27] These dances were

[26] For a discussion of this point, see chapter on " Mimus and Scop " in Chambers' *The Mediæval Stage,* vol. I, pp. 23 ff.

[27] Labbe, t. II, col. 1649.

very likely those of the pantomines which the pagan feasts invariably had. They were as immoral as all the dances of the time. Ammianus Marcellinus considered the gyrations of the dancing-girls hurtful to the fame of the State.[28] In the same year and from the same council [29] we have a special law prompted no doubt by the freedom which people attached to dances on feast days. Theatrical spectacles and others such, says the canon, should be done away with on Sundays and celebrated days of the Christian religion, especially because of the fact that on the day of the octave of Easter people go to the circus rather than to church. We are already familiar with the lament of Chrysostom concerning an almost identical abuse. It was about this time too that Augustine was grieving over the well attended circuses and the empty churches. Centuries later, in the year 680, the Council of Constantinople legislated that feast days should be observed and that on such days no horse-race or public shows were allowable.[30] Worldly amusements were even at that time entering the churches and affecting the liturgy. In 745 the statutes of St. Boniface declare that the Church is not the place for worldly themes [31] and also that vanities should not be mixed with religious celebrations. A similar canon in 747 exists with reference to England during the career of Archbishop Cuthbert.[32] In view of these laws the conduct of the later clergy in England in thrusting performances outside of the church because of worldly themes is not surprising.

Singing is usually coupled with dancing in the condemnation of the canons. This combination of amusement is censured especially when it takes place at weddings, banquets and funerals. In 364 Christians who went to weddings are urged not to dance. The Latin phrasing is interesting for it makes dancing synonymous with indecent behavior—*se turpiter et indecore gerere vel saltare*.[33] The same council in canon 54 declares that priests and clerics ought not to see spectacles at weddings

[28] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 9.
[29] Labbe, t. II, col. 1650.
[30] *Ibid.*, col. 974.
[31] Labbe, t. XII, col. 385.
[32] *Ibid.*, t. XII, col. 400.
[33] *Ibid.*, t. I, col. 1514.

or banquets and that before the fiddlers enter, they (the clerics) ought to rise and depart. For similar enactments in the year 572 and 680 we find specific canons. In the year 816 priests and clerics were cautioned not to be present at plays given at marriages.[34] The plays condemned here, or rather discriminated against, are the performances of the *mimi* which I shall refer to later. A council in France 506 forbade the clergy from attending these same assemblies where, it declares, amatory and vile songs are sung or obscene motions of the body are exhibited in choruses and dances. These are to be eschewed because of the contagion therein which would make one unfit for his office.[35]

The house of the dead knew no respite from this persistent amusement. Diabolical songs and dances are forbidden at wakes. Reverence and decorum for the dead are urged. If anyone desires to sing, let him sing "Lord, have mercy on us".[36] Even as late as the year 890 priests are forbidden to celebrate in drinking bouts the anniversaries of any dead person.[37] Occasionally there is a law against the music used at the celebrations where these songs and dances took place. In 787 the Synod if Nicea legislates that people should give thanks to God, but not by theatrical practices or satanical songs or with harps or meretricious voices.[38] This element of paganism was hard to wipe out. Women were often the arch-offenders in this respect. In 680 a canon forbids the public dancing of women because of the injury and destruction it brings about.[39] In the year 826 women are again legislated against and condemned if they sing vile songs on feast days.

[34] Concilium Aquisgranense, A. D. 816. Can. 83: Quod non oporteat sacerdotes aut clericos quibuscumque spectaculis in scenis aut in nuptiis interesse: sed antequam thylemici ingrediantur, exurgere eos convenit, aut inde discedere. *Ibid.*, t. XIV, col. 202.

[35] Concilium Agathense in France, A. D. 506. Can. 39: Presbyteri, diacones, subdiacones, etiam alienarum nuptiarum evitent convivia: Nec his caetibus immisceantur ubi amatoria cantantur et turpia, aut obscaeni motus corporum choreis et saltationibus efferuntur, ne auditus et obtutus sacris mysteriis deputati, turpium spectaculorum atque verborum contagione polluantur. *Ibid.*, t. IV, col. 1389-90.

[36] Concilium Arelatense 4, A. D. 524. (While this can hardly be called a canon, it is more in the nature of a decree of Gratian—incorporated in the writings of this Council.)

[37] Concilium Nanetense, cir. 890.

[38] Labbe, t. XI, col. 951 ff.

[39] *Ibid.*, t. XI, col. 971.

Whatever dramatic elements lingered among the pagan people are to be found in the celebration of their festivals. The *ludi* of the circus were more athletic than mimetic. In 305 in Spain we have a prohibition which comes closest to curtailing impersonation. Even here it is none too evident what the purpose of the legislator is. The canon is concerned with what Chambers regards as a commonplace of anti-stage controversy.[40] The *scenici* at Rome with their inevitable disguisings undoubtedly become a fact in the early Christianity of Spain, for a Spanish law makes it plain that married women or their husbands may not give their garments for the purpose of adorning any secular pomp.[41] Centuries later in Spain, in the year 572, we find a similar prohibition stating that if anyone does a ballet before the churches of the saints, or if anyone changes his appearance into that of a man, or if a woman disguises herself in the form of a man, he or she must do penance for three years.[42]

The occasion for many of these amusements was of course the celebration of the feast of the Kalends. Chambers gives an imposing list of eminent leaders who have written in reference to this pagan festival.[43] The list is far too long for comment here. The canons referred to in these pages are typical of the animus of Church leaders at this time. In the year 680 the Kalends and the meetings held on the first of March are forbidden. Some dramatic elements (left-overs of a former art) seemed to be aimed at, for the canon forbids not only the Kalends but the *comical, satirical or tragical impersonations* as quoted above. In 572 the "iniquitous observances" of the Kalends are again forbidden as is likewise the pagan custom of decorating the houses with laurel or green boughs.[44] Pagan feasts should not be made by the people of God, declared the Synodus Francica in 742, and in the following year the First Council of Rome states that no one should presume to observe the Kalends and pagan rites and to prepare banquets, or lead songs and choruses through the villages and

[40] *The Mediæval Stage*, footnote, p. 1.
[41] Labbe, t. I, col. 976.
[42] *Ibid.*, t. V, col. 901.
[43] Cf. Vol. 2, *The Mediæval Stage*, Appendix N.
[44] Labbe, t. V, col. 913.

streets. Such conduct is evil before God and if anyone does these things he is to be excommunicated.[45]

A final word on customs of these pagan days may conveniently close the subject. In the year 680 those who taught civil law, a canon states, ought not to use Greek costumes and neither ought they be brought into the theatre or to perform those plays called Cylistra.[46] Some mythological play most likely is here meant—one dealing, possibly with the "adulteries of the gods" which Theophilus in A. D. 170 had complained of. In 870 the custom of attiring laymen in the robes of bishops on solemn days in the court of princes or the custom of making a patriarch ridiculous is forbidden under grave censures.[47] It is not many centuries after this that we find similar prohibitions in France regarding the feast of the Boy Bishop.

The same meagre returns as regards the Church's mind on dramatic art await the investigation of the prohibitions against the actors. In 314 if anyone among the faithful becomes an actor he is excommunicated as long as he continues in this profession.[48] In 397 or 399 and in 408 reconciliation (i. e., with the Church) is not to be denied actors and others of their ilk in the event of their repentance and return to godly ways.[49] In 305 in Spain if any charlatans or actors wished to embrace the faith they should first renounce their profession and then they may be received. But they should not go back to their professions any more. If they act contrary to this injunction they are to be cast out of the Church.[50] The same council forbids any Christian or catechumen to marry comedians or actors and whoever does not obey this law must be denied Communion. In 408 we have these canons from Africa which state that if anyone in this foolish art (i. e. the actor's art) wishes to become a Christian, and remain free from that art, he is not permitted to exercise that work again.[51] In 680 the Council of Constantinople declares in no mincing way that this sacred and

[45] *Ibid.*, t. XIV, col. 950.
[46] *Ibid.*, t. XI, col. 975.
[47] *Ibid.*, Paris edit., t. VIII, col. 1135.
[48] *Ibid.*, t. I, col. 1566.
[49] *Ibid.*, t. II, col. 1172.
[50] *Ibid.*, t. I, col. 977.
[51] *Ibid.*, t. XI, col. 967.

universal synod prohibits those who are called actors and also their plays.[52] Thus far we have seen nothing in the legislation cited that could reasonably be interpreted as an attack on dramatic art. The reason for these laws against actors will appear in clearer view when we take into account the light that historians have thrown on the matter.

We come now to the last category of the subject matter in the canons and these have for their concern the morals of the clergy. The canons are important because of their legislation against what appears to be the *mimi* or strolling entertainers, the unfledged minstrels of the coming Middle Ages. Whether it is accurate or not to refer to these nomads at this point as *mimi* or *scopos* is unimportant. Chambers here is none too luminous.[53] The fact is significant that here we have a type of entertainer who is condemned by the councils and condemned because of the vileness of his repertoire. The clergy are warned not to tolerate him. These special cautions for the clergy have always been frequent. An early canon—in or about the year 399—forbade the sons of bishops and of the clergy to exhibit worldly plays, or even to witness them, because of the fact that even all laymen were thus prohibited. For this, states the canon, has always been forbidden all Christians, namely that they be not present where blasphemies are to be found.[54]

In 813 a law is promulgated to the effect that bishops and abbots should not permit bad jests before them.[55] The context makes it clear that the theatre is here not meant but very likely the monasteries and homes of these church dignitaries, for it continues, let them have with them the poor and needy at their tables. Again, priests should flee the insolences of vile actors and obscene jokes and they should preach to others on them. All of these canons with the exception of one emanate from different councils in the same century and expressly mention the obscene joke. This is very interesting, for the canons are evidently referring to these nondescript entertainers, who,

[52] *Ibid.*, t. II, col. 1650.
[53] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 24 ff.
[54] Labbe, t. II, col. 1169.
[55] *Ibid.*, t. XIV, col. 78.

after the disappearance of the theatres, are going about with the indecencies of paganism still in their mouths, and endeavoring to please casual auditors. Chambers remarks that the stricter ecclesiastics attacked the practice of harboring these entertainers in religious houses and quotes condemnatory decrees regarding them.[56] The "hostile attitude of the rulers of the Church," says Chambers, is "not quite explained by anything in the poetry of the *scopos,* so far as it is left to us. This had very readily exchanged its pagan for a Christian coloring: it cannot be fairly accused of immorality or even coarseness, and the Christian sentiment of the time is not likely to have been much offended by the prevailing theme of battle and deeds of blood. . . . "the degeneration", he continues, "of the old Teutonic gleemen had set in. To singing and harping were now added novel and far less desirable arts. Certainly the prohibition makes no exception for *poetae* and *musici;* but the full strength of their condemnation seems to be directed against *scurrae* and their *ioca,* and against the *mimi* and *histriones* who danced as well as sang. These are new figures in English life, and they point to the fact that the merging of the Teutonic with the Latin entertainers had begun." [57]

The full condemnation, which Chambers speaks of, did not fall entirely on the *ioca,* for in a canon already quoted (see above, p. 574) for the year 813 the enactment also reads that all things which take away the vigor of the mind, as *certain kinds of music,* should be avoided. In 816 the clergy are urged, if they are at a theatre or banquet, to rise and leave before the musicians (thylemici) entered.[58]

What answer or answers, over and above the obvious one of checking abuses, can be given to the ecclesiastical prohibitions already investigated? A solution is to be found, I think, in the Church's great desire to develop among the people the actual practice of chastity. The probable explanation which Chambers gives that there was "the ascetic tendency to regard even harmless forms of secular amusement as barely compat-

[56] Chambers, *op. cit.,* p. 40.

[57] *Ibid.,* pp. 32-33.

[58] Labbe, t. XIV, col. 202. Concilium Aquisgranense, A. D. 816. Can. 83.

ible with the religious life "[59] seems inadequate. A new ideal, a chastity heroic for both men and women, was effectively operating upon the imaginations of Christian leaders. The Church, familiar with the imperfections of the Greek ideal of moral perfection, and familiar too with pagan infidelity and the frequent lapses of her own children, both secular and lay, sought out the heroic way. Compromise was unthinkable. Augustine and Jerome become the champions of this stricter living. The zeal of the latter can be glimpsed from the dedication of Demetrias to the virginal state,[60] a condition of life soon to be accepted by many. It is about this time that we read of the first legislation on celibacy. Canon XXXIII of the Council of Elvira (between 295 and 303) in Spain has the first enactment. Celibacy was imposed upon bishops, priests and deacons. They were to be deposed if they continued to live as husbands after their ordinations. At a Roman council under Pope Siricius in 386 an edict was passed forbidding priests and deacons the privileges of married people.[61] This ideal of chastity, specific and tangible, was a way to escape the despair which pagan immorality had produced.[62] The good of the individual, of society and of religion was to be found in this strict way of life.

The canons cited for this early period have as their complaint the indecency and indecorum of the times. Plays are to be avoided because they are "blasphemous", actors are "vile" and their jokes "obscene";[63] assemblies should be avoided because of "obscenity in singing and dancing"; entertainments "diabolical" are to be avoided as occasions for the "fires of lust"; the Kalends are to be fled because they are "pagan and iniquitous". In spite of the anathemas of the Church these social perils had their charms for the people far into the fifth century.

[59] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 33.

[60] Dill, Samuel, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 126.

[61] Article on Celibacy, *Cath. Ency.*, vol. 3, p. 484.

[62] Dill (*ut supra*), p. 64.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58 for a treatment of the vileness of the actor's profession. "The worst social curse of the Lower Empire, the hereditary character of nearly all callings, had left perhaps its deepest brand on the actor's profession. Treated as the vilest of mankind," etc.

Such are the facts of the legislation in these early centuries. There is here no hostility to dramatic art or to the theatre *per se*. Despite Jerome's denunciation of vice he held that the Christian maiden should be taught the best in Latin and Greek literature.[64] Augustine made the distinction between the vulgar *mimes*, the spectacles of the amphitheatre and true tragedy and comedy, and recommended the latter to be studied by any one seeking a liberal education.[65] The fifth century witnessed a revival of literary interest from which the leaders in the Church did not wholly abstain.[66] The canons are a reaction against customs which made it difficult for the Church to carry on her divine mission. We have reviewed briefly her utterances in these times. In the next issue we shall consider her legislation in her canons launched in and since the Middle Ages. Paganism has disappeared, new nations have sprung up and with them new problems. And for each she has framed fresh policies which look to the theatre.

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[64] See Hieron., *Ep.* cvii, par. 9; quoted by Dill, p. 387.
[65] *De Civitate Dei*, ii, 8.
[66] *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I, p. 17.

IS ANTICHRIST A MAN?

THE PURPOSE of this paper is merely to present the views on this subject recently propounded by Denis Buzy.[1] They are a challenge to the common opinion of this age. His conclusion is reached after a careful consideration of St. Paul's words on this question, aided by a comparative study of other passages.

Some of the indolent members of the Church in Thessalonia gave up work, alleging as their reason the imminence of the parousia, i. e., appearance of the Lord. To convince their less credulous brethren, they pretended to have received a divine inspiration, a word or even a letter from the Apostle.[2] Hearing of the state of affairs, Paul wrote to the congregation the following:

Let no man deceive you by any means, for unless there come a revolt first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition,

Who opposeth, and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God.

Remember you not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?

And now you know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his time.

For the mystery of iniquity already worketh; only that he who now holdeth, do hold, until he be taken out of the way.

And then that wicked one shall be revealed whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth; and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, him,

Whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders,

And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish; because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, to believe lying:

That all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity.[3]

[1] " L'Adversaire et l'obstacle " (2 Thess. 2:3-12) in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Oct. 1934, pp. 402-432.

[2] 2 Thess, 2:2.

[3] 2 Thess. 2:3-12.

From a study of these lines we infer that according to chronological succession there will be: 1. the mystery of iniquity which is already active, by means of which preparation is made for the disclosure of the man of sin, the son of perdition, the adversary ("who opposeth"); 2. the obstacle, whose function is to prevent this disclosure; 3. then the obstacle is put aside and we have 4. the disclosure or parousia of the adversary; 5. this parousia will be the cause of the apostacy and will be advanced by deceptive miracles, signs and prodigies due to the power of Satan; 6. the parousia of our Lord who will kill the adversary with the spirit of His mouth.

The author confines himself to the discovery of the adversary and the obstacle. According to the Apostle, the obstacle restrains the adversary; when the former is put aside, the latter will appear in the midst of prodigies worked by Satan.

Is the Adversary an Individual or a Group?

In answering this question the author ranges himself beside Father Allo (*L'Apocalypse*) and Father Lavergne (*L'Apocalypse*). He holds that the adversary, Antichrist, is not an individual but a collection of men extending from St. Paul's time till the end of the world. He states at the outset that the passage in question (2 Thess. 2: 1-12) is to be placed in the category of apocalyptic writings. For this view he can also cite Vosté. Therefore, he concludes, we should not hold rigidly to the superficial meaning of the words of the passage. Apocalyptic writings are symbolic. The fact that St. Paul seems to speak of an individual does not settle the matter, as a glance at other apocalyptic passages will show.

In the Apocalypse of St. John, we read of the beast of the sea and the beast of the land. Yet, as all admit now, since the publication of Allo's *Apocalypse,* these are not individual beasts, but are respectively: 1. the symbol of human anti-Christian forces, especially the civil power which persecutes believers, and 2. the symbol of the religious power which seduces true Christians.[4] Therefore each of these beasts is a symbol for a group. The two witnesses who appear in chapter II,

[4] *Recherches,* p. 407, which gives references to Allo.

are certainly represented as individuals, but the works of Fathers Allo and Lavergne as well as of Swete show that these witnesses represent the collection of preachers of the gospel. One who would read Ezekiel casually would conclude that the king of Tyre of whom the prophet writes is an individual.

> Son of man, say to the prince of Tyre: Thus saith the Lord God: because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said: I am God, and I sit in the chair of God in the heart of the sea; whereas thou art a man, and not God: and hast set thy heart as if it were the heart of God.[5]

Nevertheless, a careful study of the poem reveals that the king of Tyre is only a symbol of his capital and kingdom,[6] as modern commentators agree. The same prophet alternates personifications of Egypt with the portrait of the Pharaoh.[7] Therefore we conclude in apocalyptic writings an individual may represent a group. Therefore the *man of sin, the adversary, Antichrist,* is not necessarily an individual.

Moreover, St. Paul's description is only a body of borrowed prophecies. It is reminiscent of Daniel 11:36, which deals with Antiochus Epiphanes, an individual, but also the king of Tyre, i. e., a group.

Compare, for instance, "The man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth" (i. e., the adversary) "and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God,"[8] with the picture of the king of Tyre whose heart is lifted up, who calls himself God and sits in the chair of God.[9]

Hence, further study is needed to discover the identity of the adversary. Let us therefore consider the relations which St. Paul establishes between the adversary and the obstacle ("he who now holdeth").

[5] Ezek. 28:2.

[6] Ezek. 28:18-20. Also compare chapter 27 which deals with the city, and chapter 28 devoted to the king.

[7] Ezek. 29-32.

[8] 2 Thess. 2:3-5.

[9] Ezek. 28:2; already quoted.

The mystery of iniquity, the adversary, was *already in activity* when Paul wrote his letter.[10] He is prevented from manifesting himself by some force, a person or group which acts directly upon him. This force we call the obstacle. The struggle between the two will continue until the obstacle is brushed aside. Then the adversary, Antichrist, will make his appearance and Satan will assist him with prodigies. Now as Antichrist who is not identified with Satan, has been in existence for nineteen centuries, it is only common sense to suspect that he represents a group. By the same token, the obstacle would represent a group.

But now one may argue if there are many Antichrists, how is Antichrist the sign of the second coming of our Lord? How shall we know which is the final Antichrist whose coming heralds the parousia of the Saviour? The answer is simple. The sign of the coming of the Saviour is *not the coming* of one or several Antichrists, it is the *Revelation* of them (or him), invested with the lying prodigies of Satan.

Note how this view agrees perfectly with the teaching of the Divine Master Himself. "And *many false prophets* shall rise and shall seduce many. And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold"[11] Also, "there shall arise *false Christs* and *false prophets* and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect"[12] Our Lord speaks of no chief of these false Christs and false prophets, of no individual Antichrist. Now St. Paul closely followed the doctrine of the Master.[13]

We obtain confirmation of our opinion if we examine the teaching of St. John. "Little children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that an Antichrist cometh [no definite article in the Greek], even now there have been [or are] many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last hour".[14] "Who is

[10] 2 Thess. 2:7.

[11] Matt. 24:11-13.

[12] Ibid., verse 24.

[13] "Prae oculis habitis genuina muneris apostolici notione et indubia sancti Pauli fidelitate erga doctrinam Magistri". Denzinger-Bannwart, no. 2180.

[14] 1 John 2:18.

the liar except he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? He is the Antichrist [definite article] who denies the Father and the Son ".[15] " And every spirit who dissolveth Jesus, is not from God; and this is the [spirit] of the Antichrist, of which [referring to the spirit] you have heard that it is coming, and now is the world already " [16] " Many seducers have gone forth into the world, who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh; such a one is *the* imposter and *the* Antichrist ".[17] Therefore, according to St. John there are many Antichrists; an Antichrist is one who denies Christ.

What is the witness of tradition on this subject? It must be confessed that present day opinion favors the theory of an individual Antichrist who will appear at the end of time. This view, however, is not based on the unanimous view of the Fathers of the Church. Origen, for instance, gives three possible explanations of the problem: Antichrist is an individual, or he typifies false doctrine, or he is a genus with several species. All heretics, past, present or future are Antichrists.[18] St. Augustine says that some understood Antichrist to be not a leader, but a whole band composed of a leader and his followers. He ends his discussion thus: " Alius ergo sic, alius autem sic apostoli obscura verba conjectat." [19] Therefore if there was no unanimity of interpretation of St. Paul's words in Augustine's day, we can say at least that there is no traditional view extending back to Apostolic times. This is all the more striking when we reflect that the pen picture of the Apostle seems to represent an individual.

The Obstacle.

There have been many opinions as to the obstacle, e. g., the Roman Empire, a decree of God, apostacy, St. Michael and his angels, etc. Therefore no one can urge tradition in favor of his opinion. Many of the Fathers of the Church identified the obstacle with the Roman Empire,[20] but when the Roman Em-

[15] 1 John 2:22.
[16] 1 John 4:3.
[17] 2 John 7.
[18] *Recherches*, p. 416.
[19] *Recherches*, p. 417.
[20] For references, cf. *Recherches*, pp. 418-420.

pire fell, that theory was gradually abandoned. The obstacle is not St. Michael, as Prat held.[21] Light will be thrown on this problem by a comparison with the Apocalypse of St. John and of our Lord Himself.[22] From St. Paul we learn two things concerning the obstacle: 1. it prevents the manifestation of the adversary; 2. when, however, it is put aside, the adversary no longer finding any opposition, reveals himself immediately. What do the two other apocalypses have to say on these two points?

The Obstacle in the Apocalypse of St. John.

In addition to the two beasts, one of the sea, and one of the land (who are Antichrists), we have the two *witnesses*. Although these two personages are remarkable thaumaturges,[23] they are presented as witnesses prophesying, i. e., preaching.[24] They are clothed in sack-cloth, the garment of the prophets of the Old Testament. They typify, therefore, all the good preachers of the Gospel who combat the influences of Antichrist.[25] Their miraculous powers protect them from their enemies.[26] There is no indication of the beast during their time of preaching; but after they have completed their testimony, the beast ascends from the abyss, conquers and kills them.[27] It is their preaching, therefore, which prevents the parousia of the beast. One cannot but be struck by the similarity between this passage and the description of St. Paul. The obstacle in St. Paul restrains the adversary; the witnesses counteract the beast. When the obstacle is removed, the adversary will make his appearance; when the witnesses finish preaching, the beast ascends from the abyss. The adversary seduces many by false signs and wonders; he shows himself as God;[28] the beast from the sea, works miracles, seduces many,

[21] Buzy says this is Prat's opinion (p. 420), but he fails to state that Prat later abandoned that theory and now says he has no solution of the problem. Cf. *La Théologie de Saint Paul*, 1^{20} p. 96.

[22] Matt. 24.

[23] Apoc. 11:6.

[24] Apoc. 11:3.

[25] Allo, *L'Apocalypse*, p. 132.

[26] Apoc. 11:6.

[27] Apoc. 11:7.

[28] 2 Thess. 2:9-11.

blasphemes God and is adored as God. He is helped by another beast or false prophet, who also works false miracles.[29] Finally, according to St. Paul, the Lord Jesus kills the *adversary* with the spirit of His mouth; while St. John says the *Word of God* casts the beast into the pool of fire.[30]

THE OBSTACLE IN THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. MATTHEW.

The teaching of our Lord on the end of the world confirms these conclusions. "This gospel of the kingdom shall be *preached* in the whole world, for a *testimony* to all nations, and *then* shall the consummation come".[31] Moreover, at the consummation there will be false Christs and false prophets, great signs and wonders, capable of seducing many.[32] Does this not agree with St. John? Are not the preachers who preach and the witnesses who give testimony, St. Paul's obstacle? As long as we have preaching of the Gospel there is no question of the end or of the unchaining of the forces of evil, or of deceptive miracles. The forces of evil are restrained.

But when the whole world has been evangelized, the stage is set for the end. There will be false prophets, false Christs, false miracles and the seduction of many.[33] Are not the false prophets and false Christs who appear *after the preaching* the same as the two beasts of St. John's Apocalypse who ascend from the abyss *after the testimony of the witnesses,* and the adversary of St. Paul who makes his appearance with the power of Satan, *after the obstacle is removed?* Also are not the witnesses of St. John and the preachers of Matthew identified with St. Paul's obstacle which prevent the parousia of the adversary?

Our conclusion, therefore, is that before the unchaining of the forces of evil there are many Antichrists. This agrees with the words of St. Paul and St. John. The mystery of iniquity was already working when St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians. St. John says there are *many Antichrists.* There is a distinction however between the first Antichrists and those at the end of the world. The latter will have the special assist-

[29] Apoc. 13.
[30] Apoc. 19.
[31] Matt. 19:14.
[32] Matt. 19:22-25.
[33] Matt. 24:21-25.

ance of Satan, will be able to work false wonders and to seduce (if possible) even the elect. That which prevents the appearance of the final Antichrists are the preachers and missionaries of the Catholic Church. Some one may say that this solution is too simple. The very simplicity of the opinion is a point in its favor. St. Paul had told the Thessalonians verbally what was the obstacle that restrained the appearance of the adversary. His explanation was so simple that he did not repeat it. He wrote merely: "Remember you not, that when I was with you I told you these things? And now you *know* what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in time. For the mystery of iniquity *already worketh;* only that he who now holdeth, *do hold* until he be taken out of the way".[34]

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[34] 2 Thess. 2:5-8.

THE LAY RETREAT MOVEMENT.

ANY PASTOR of average zeal and insight will find very much to interest and edify him in the development of the lay retreat movement in the United States. Lay retreats in one form or another are centuries old in the Catholic Church. Provisions for them were well developed two centuries ago. They produced surprising results in spirituality in the seventeenth century in China early in the history of the Jesuit missions.[1]

These retreats are well organized in South America, England, Ireland, Germany, France, Canada, Belgium and probably elsewhere. The movement has grown with great rapidity in the United States in recent years. We find traces of retreats in the Pittsburgh diocese in 1860 and in New Orleans in 1876. From this time on they appear rapidly in many parts of the United States.

The first suggestion as to the organization of the movement came from a layman—Sidney Finlay, Secretary of the Xavier Alumni Sodality of New York. He received the suggestion from a friend in England who told him of the organization founded there in 1908. The appointment of the Rev. Timothy Shealy, S.J., for the work in 1909 marks the beginning of its new development. Father Shealy read a paper on the movement at the Eucharistic Congress of Montreal in 1910. He was familiar with the work in Europe. He brought intelligent enthusiasm to his task in the United States. The movement is forever indebted to him for his masterly contribution to its development.

A committee of twenty men was appointed to look into the problem of organization. Nineteen retreats were conducted in 1910 and attended by three hundred men. The first general plan submitted in 1911 proposed a national organization under the title "The Laymen's League for Retreats and Social Studies". The first permanent retreat house was established at Mt. Manresa in New York in 1911. The intention to develop Social Studies as well as Retreats was cordially approved by Archbishop Farley in 1911. The School of Social Studies was

[1] THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW will publish later in the year an article treating the point in some detail.

opened in that year under the presidency of Thomas Woodlock and was located at the Fordham Law School. Father Shealy was made Dean. The venture did not survive his death in 1921. But the impetus that he gave to retreat work remains in full vigor and the movement has grown to splendid proportions.

The first national meeting was held in 1928 in Philadelphia. Laymen from thirty dioceses were in attendance. Action on permanent organization was deferred. Ultimately the title—The Laymen's Retreat Movement—was adopted. National conventions have been held in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Detroit, Latrobe and Washington. Reports of all of them have been published except that of Cincinnati. Undoubtedly the remarkable growth of the movement is due in large measure to the Holy Father's Encyclical, *Mens Nostra,* of 20 December 1929. In it His Holiness gave extraordinary approval to the lay retreat movement. The text will be found in volume 82 of the REVIEW, page 282.

Lay retreats are conducted in many dioceses of the United States. About thirty of them are represented at the annual conventions. Members of the hierarchy who have had occasion to do so have endorsed the work with most generous enthusiasm. In some dioceses the bishop appoints a diocesan director whose time and energy are directed toward the development of retreat work. There are twenty-two permanent houses where retreats are conducted throughout the year. There are forty other centers in which retreats are conducted primarily during the summer when seminaries, colleges, camps and hotels are used. Sixteen religious communities are active in the work of retreat masters. Twenty of the twenty-two permanent retreat houses and forty of the seasonal retreat units are conducted by them. The average weekly attendance in permanent houses is six hundred. The average weekly attendance in occasional retreat houses is 2685. During the past year 29,000 men made retreats.

Throughout all of the convention reports one finds constant insistence upon the relation of the laymen's retreats to parish life. The proposal most frequently met throughout the papers read and the discussions that follow is that of making the parish the final unit in retreat development. It is laid down as an

axiom that permits no debate that the movement cannot make satisfactory headway without the understanding and coöperation of pastors. Committees are directed to confer with them and to be advised by them. At the Fourth National Convention a speaker described the value of parish units in the development of retreat work as follows.

> The parish unit lends greater stability in organization; helps to secure the active coöperation of the pastor; localizes effort and provides a systematic method of covering the entire Catholic population; it gets the men in the parish acquainted with one another and tends to keep the movement alive. It develops a friendly rivalry among parishes and stimulates attendance. In addition it increases the Catholic zeal and faith of the parishioners; develops an organized body of Catholic apostles within the parish and develops leadership.

Once in a while a whisper will be heard at a convention stating that some pastors have not been as helpful as they might be. The Rev. Herman I. Storck, S.J., referred to this at the Washington meeting. "I would like to say a word with regard to a complaint that we often hear 'Why do the priests not take more interest in the Retreat Movement'. . . . Let us remember that it is a Laymen's Retreat Movement, that it is a part of Catholic Action, one of the fundamentals and, therefore, under the direction of the bishop and of the assisting priest. We must remember that since it is lay action it is the layman who should go from door to door and do most of the talking and urging. We are just shifting a burden when we complain that the priests do not take a more active part in the Retreat Movement." One speaker who had long been a city pastor and who has conducted many retreats expressed the belief that pastors had not done their reasonable duty in respect of the retreat movement. Yet one gathers the impression from reading the convention reports and observing comment and conversation during convention days that on the whole pastors have been generous in supporting the work and that the hope of its future development is largely in their keeping. There is a most impressive spirit of harmony and understanding that keeps laymen and priests united in common enthusiasm for retreats. I do not know how invitations are issued, if they are issued, but there is not a notable attendance of pastors other

than religious to be found at the conventions. However, as much as their presence may be desired, the coöperation of pastors can be given in fullest measure, regardless of this detail. The lay retreat movement is thoroughly representative of Catholic spirituality. It is thoroughly approved by the highest authority of the Church. It presents itself as an instrument for spiritual development and an idealism that is the finest flower of faith. Attendence at retreats does not involve insuperable difficulties. Everything about them is reasonable, practical and helpful. One is not surprised then to find members of the hierarchy helpful and enthusiastic and pastors as a rule interested.

It is said now and then that a retreat is apt to interfere with parish loyalty. Pastors are naturally on the alert to win and hold the loyalty of men in the congregation. If retreat masters are interested in a particular form of devotion or in an organization that may be made to attract and hold the interest of retreatants these might be led to make affiliations that distract them from parish devotions and activity. The impression that this is done or may be done seems to have raised questions in the minds of some pastors as to the effects of the retreats upon the parish. I met only one definite mention of this in the convention reports. A study of a number of retreatants coming from three different sections of the country showed that forty per cent of them had not returned to make a second retreat. One of the reasons given for this failure to return was the introduction of objectives (plans, organizations, particular devotions, I imagine) which were technically foreign to the purpose of the retreat and which disturbed the recollection of the retreatant. Others of the forty per cent did not return because of expenses and a certain sensitiveness in discussing them.

This is a rather intangible problem, one that derives its meaning and difficulty from feelings. It is one concerning which mistaken impressions easily arise. In the dozen or more retreats with which I have been familiar the question did not arise, nor did it attract any attention at the last national convention at the Catholic University in Washington.

The retreatant severs his ordinary domestic, business and social ties, sets aside all reluctances and timidities and gives

himself to some days of recollection and prayer when his soul has undisputed right of way. The word timidity is used advisedly. Men who have never made a retreat, who know nothing about one, will resist much urging on account of timidity. Mistaken impressions as to the nature of a retreat, occasional jokes which hint at severity, long prayers and gloom deceive susceptible men and they will refuse to make a retreat. Stories of such timidity which was eventually overcome are told by its victims at an "experience" gathering at the end of a retreat. They are always most amusing. The following story is typical. There was an architect who made his first retreat under pressure. His wife was not a Catholic. As he told the story on the last night he said: "Well, that first day I slipped around to the garage wondering how I could get a chance to get the car out without being noticed and make my getaway: the second day, especially after we had that little talk, I began to feel better. But the third day, I want to tell you gentlemen, was the happiest day of my life. I have never had a day like it."

The desirable length of a retreat is a subject of frequent discussion. The most definite policy is that followed by the Jesuit Fathers who by direction insist on three full days and exclude those who are unable to comply with that regulation. Three or even five days would be a nearer approach to the ideal than would any shorter period be. But if one takes into account the complexities of life, the differing circumstances in which individuals are enmeshed, one finds vast numbers who cannot devote the three days to a retreat but can give less time. For these men the favorite arrangement is to start on Friday evening and conclude on Monday morning. No retreat master would pretend that this is in itself desirable, but many recognize that it is inevitable if those in question are to receive the spiritual help that a shorter retreat can give. I cannot recall from an experience of twelve years with these shorter retreats any one in which the retreat master was not compelled to welcome late arrivals and permit early departure. The fortunate liberty that has been allowed to local units to make their plans in the light of circumstances has enabled the retreat movement to provide for thousands who were deterred from attending for the full three days. Those who can contrive to get the

three full days are indeed fortunate and the retreat masters work under decidedly favoring circumstances.

Marked diversity of opinion is found throughout the movement as regards silence. There are some retreat houses in which it is rigidly observed for three full days. Elsewhere one or two periods of recreation will be provided for, usually following meals. Still greater liberty is allowed in other places where much of the time "given or taken" for conversation is actually devoted to the discussion of thoughts brought out in the retreat conferences. On one occasion seventy-two men were asked their preference as regards silence. Sixty-seven of them urged unbroken silence throughout the entire retreat. Four favored conversation once a day limited to discussion of thoughts set forth in the conference. When retreatants can have separate rooms the maintenance of strict silence is greatly facilitated. This is not so easy where domitories or even tents are found. Some of the retreat masters have reported that they left retreatants entirely free as to silence while commending it highly for its spiritual advantages. In these cases the silence has been kept almost perfectly. There are many who believe, as I do, that limited conversation relieves the tension under which retreat work is done when it is well done, and they add too that the promotion of a certain amount of social contact among serious men is something greatly to be desired. The freedom enjoyed by the retreat units as regards silence is undoubtedly a great advantage at this stage, in the development of the movement. In all probability the future will show improvement in the standards of silence moving toward complete observance.

A by-product of at least limited conversation during a retreat is found in social contacts. It is surprising to discover the extent to which Catholics do not know one another. And this is as true in the professions as elsewhere, perhaps more so. It is more true where we have heterogeneous groups making a retreat. A laborer has few opportunities to meet a distinguished judge or surgeon or statesman. Their differences are forgotten at a retreat. It is a new and happy experience for them to be unconscious of artificial and social differences and to meet on the basis of common brotherhood in Christ, and in the spirit of good fellowship. Everyone gains by this. It

is a question of comparing one good with another and making a choice.

One argument in favor of complete silence is found in this, that the retreatants wish to come as near as they can to God, to seek deeper selfknowledge, helpful insight into spiritual truths and they wish that nothing distract them. One can easily understand this. There are many, however, who have no habit of reflexion, who are not trained in the ways of thinking but who are refreshed beyond measure spiritually by atmosphere, conferences and devotions. These will give great attention to preparation for confession. The earnestness and thoroughness with which they do this work is tribute enough to the institution of retreats even if nothing beyond that were aimed at. If each retreat unit succeeds in interpreting local conditions and spirit correctly and shapes policy under the general principle of not attempting the impossible nor neglecting the possible, the way to wisdom will be readily discovered. Generally speaking, presumptions should favor silence. Many who are most experienced in retreats favor complete silence. Those who do not see the situation thus will be content with less perfect measures and they may think of the words:

> Brother in hope,
> If you should pierce the far empyrean through
> And find that perfect star
> Whose beams we have not seen
> Yet know they are,
> Say that I have loved it too—but could not climb so far.

Perhaps I should not betray the intimate details of our retreat work. I have heard more than once, two different accounts of the silence observed at a retreat. The retreat master described it as perfect and most edifying, while some of the retreatants told another story with an amiable smile. Human nature has a perverse way of writing commentaries on our limitations and ideals.

Finances engage serious attention during national conventions. Some of the permanent retreat houses have debts whose interest charges in these troubled days are most annoying. One report at the last convention indicated that only one-third of the retreat houses had an annual deficit. Occasional retreats have an easier financial burden because they have no

capital charges. On the other hand they can do but one-twelfth or less of the work done in the permanent retreat houses. So far as inquiry extended, no trace was found where any recourse had been had to bazaar or entertainment in order to raise money. Payment of expenses by retreatants vary somewhat. Many of the houses announce that payment is optional and those who would find it difficult to pay anything should not remain away on that account. Some think that this policy is not wise. To meet the problem, stamp books are issued or little metal banks are distributed in order to invite the daily saving of nickels or dimes in advance of the retreat to provide for payment without feeling it. Where figures are indicated the charges range from $3 to $12, or from $5 to $10. When religious communities or bishops offer houses without compensation the problem of financing is greatly simplified. These invisible generosities have contributed greatly to the success of the retreat movement in its earlier stages.

The engagement of a paid full-time secretary and the publication of a national bulletin were discussed with great care at the Washington convention. There was general reluctance to undertake any expense that is not immediately imperative. No conclusion has yet been reached.

The retreat movement has established many happy and fruitful contacts with Catholic organizations. The interest and approval of the hierarchy stands quite apart as a source of strength. The Knights of Columbus have endorsed the Movement and they coöperate with it throughout the entire structure of the organization from the Supreme Council to the local unit. The Holy Name Society, Knights of St. George and the Ancient Order of Hibernians are mentioned likewise in the records as having given enthusiastic coöperation. Representatives of retreat work got in touch with high school and college graduates, boy scouts and other organizations of youth. A Junior Retreat League has been formed. Much attention was devoted at the Washington meeting to retreats for boys. Evidences of extraordinary appreciation and spiritual benefit were brought forth in the discussions and they attracted much attention from the retreatants.

The by-products are important. Literally hundreds of men are associated for a monthly night of adoration before the

Blessed Sacrament in different cities. The League of the Way of the Cross makes the Stations every Friday afternoon in expiation for sin. A Catholic Association of Commercial Travelers is spread throughout Canada and one meets guilds of dentists and physicians due to initiative developed in retreats. These details are mentioned merely by way of illustration. They were met in the work of reading the convention reports, and no attempt was made to number them or measure their development. They are referred to in this way merely with the hope that others may be led to imitate such inspiring examples.

Secular priests have been slow in taking up retreat work. Religious communities have been identified with it since its beginning and they have maintained a constant devotion to it. In the hope of stimulating the interest of the diocesan priests THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW published in its October and November issues in 1930 the results of a careful study of the problem made by the Rev. John K. Sharp at its request. The reader who is interested in the problem is referred to those two articles which were done objectively and with thoroughness. The appointment of diocesan directors of retreats, the issuance of pastoral letters by diocesan Ordinaries to pastors, the positive encouragement of the bishops for priests who wish to take up the work; the appointment of diocesan priests for it are evidences to growing interest on the part of the secular clergy.[2]

Archbishop McNicholas writes as follows in a letter to the Third National Conference at Detroit in January, 1930:

[2] The following from the second of the two articles mentioned is quite in line with this, although written five years ago. "The suggestions that were received turned largely on the need of diocesan organization and positive encouragement by the bishop. One bishop who wrote expressed the belief that every diocese should have a distinct unit of the movement and that seminaries should direct the attention of theological students toward it. Many suggested discrimination in selecting priests whose age, spirit and ability can promise effective service. A number of correspondents favored a retreat group in the diocese to be composed of a smaller number carefully selected and devoted to the work. They should be allowed to specialize in retreat work. One bishop reported that he selected priests carefully and assigned the work to them. He found some who had entered upon it almost reluctantly, developed great enthusiasm later. The answer to this question was surprisingly thorough. In a general way insistence was laid upon the authority and encouragement of the bishop, efforts to make the work well known, diocesan organization, care in the selection of priests, the suppression of the inferiority complex, remote preparation in the seminary."

We realize the importance of the work of the parochial missions for the general body of the faithful. The parochial missions, however, cannot do the work accomplished by retreats. I venture to say very frankly that priests who are engaged for the greater part of the year in giving parochial missions cannot be expected to be successful retreat masters. The retreat work seems to me quite as important as the mission work, and under some aspects even more important. It would mean very much to the great interests of religion in the United States if in every religious order and congregation, and in every one of the larger dioceses especially, there were a band of priests set aside for lay retreat work. The financial outlay at first may be serious; but organized effort will surmount these difficulties and eventually put the movement on a self-supporting basis. It is my belief that the timidity evinced by our diocesan priests in undertaking retreat work has been one of the hindrances to the growth of the Laymen's Retreat Movement. There is no doubt but that our diocesan priests can become excellent retreat masters. There is no reason for their timidity. All that the right type of priest needs is time for preparation, serious study, prayer and sacrifice.

I know of nothing so likely to make our laity Catholic-minded as the habit of making annual retreats. The necessity of a lay apostolate in the United States could scarcely be more manifest that it is at present. There is, however, no hope of a real lay apostolate until we can make our men and women Catholic-minded. And this must be done largely through lay retreats. We lament the fact that many of our Catholics of wealth are not interested in the works of religion and do not generously promote and support them. This is due chiefly to the fact that their minds are not attuned to the mind of the Church, that they do not grasp the principles on which she stands, and that they do not evaluate things in terms of the spiritual and the eternal. They have not the background of the history of the Church; they know little of her vast experience in dealing with movements of all kinds during nearly two thousand years. They are, on the contrary, unduly impressed with the pretensions of our present-day philanthropy and with the humanitarianism which is rapidly taking the place of Christian charity, especially in the lives of those who have lost sight of supernatural religion. This wrong outlook on life, or this view which is not in Christian focus, can be corrected in large measure by our lay retreats. I wish with all my heart that we had as many priests, diocesan and regular, of every order and congregation, assigned to retreat work as are now designated for the work of our parochial missions. Considering the impossibility of doing all the things that are to be done, and the

necessity of selecting first those that are most important, I venture to think that the work of lay retreats is one most deserving of our attention. Our Holy Father is calling for a lay apostolate. We can lay the foundations for it by giving the Church of America a well organized and widely-extended Laymen's Retreat Movement, which will not undertake any special work but which will be the inspiration of all Catholic works.

Retreat groups vary in size from very small to very large, from ten or fifteen to one hundred and eighty. It is felt generally that approximately fifty members would insure the best results. This is no problem for permanent retreat houses, because they are always available and their capacity is limited by intention. The situation is different with occasional retreat houses. It seems wiser on the whole to limit the number of men and multiply the retreats where this is possible. Large numbers signify the growth of the movement but they may interfere with the intimacy, thoroughness and reflexion that characterize a good retreat. I have had numbers varying from fifteen to one hundred and sixty making closed retreats. Some favor retreat groups taken entirely from a parish. Others favor a membership based on likeness of training, activity and experience: physicians, lawyers, business men, policemen, and the like. Others favor heterogeneous groups because of the educational value of such social contacts. It is interesting to note the frequency with which non-Catholics will be found in retreat groups. We read of Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian ministers who have made retreats and liked them very much. One California retreat reported forty-five non-Catholics in attendance. One in Boston reported fifteen; one in Philadelphia reported twenty. A total of 294 non-Catholics made retreats last year.

One meets many views concerning publicity methods and the recruiting of retreatants. The radio, an annual dinner or Communion breakfast, movies, study clubs, colleges and universities, the Catholic press, the N. C. W. C. News Service, diocesan papers, news items in the daily press; the winning of the interest of newspaper men—Catholic and non-Catholic; the distribution of leaflets—these are all widely employed in making the retreat movement known. The most powerful and

desirable method found now with increasing frequency is the issuance of pastoral letters by bishops, the appointment of diocesan directors, parish retreat committees and announcements from the pulpit. One hears occasionally of confessors who shortly before the time of a retreat will remind their penitents of the spiritual opportunities which it offers. Small groups under leaders, personal solicitation, check-up and follow-up are reported as uniformly effective steps that laymen themselves can take. The patience needed in this work is well illustrated in the history of one man who was solicited by letter for five consecutive years.

1929—no answer;
1930—no answer;
1931—impossible to leave work
1932—may come next year;
1933—HE CAME.

These facts concerning the development of the lay retreat movement are interesting, but to my mind they are the least interesting features of the work. The most fascinating aspect of a retreat is the spiritual realization that is gained by the retreatants. The happiness felt and expressed, the consciousness of an exalted and holy adventure, the correction of values and judgments that had suffered unconscious distortion, will be excelled nowhere else in the world, I think. Spiritual feelings greatly contracted by the frosty atmosphere of the world expand under the warmth of the love of God and one rediscovers equilibrium around God as the center of life. Retreatants seem to rediscover the Church, to gain a new understanding of its place in personal life, to find a new attraction in spiritual truth and unexpected sources of regret for sin because God has been seen clearly.

One cannot escape the observation that a retreat is an authentic spiritual experience stripped of everything foreign and appearing as the response of a purified soul to the touch of God. From every part of the country come similar reports of renovation of life, new courage in facing distress, new resistance to hitherto unsuspected faults; inadvertence overcome, tyranny possibly and neglect at home corrected, affection restored, indifference conquered, duty vested with new charm.

How much home-life has been refreshed by the effect of a retreat upon a father no one can tell. Here in these secluded days men have recovered courage, have adjusted themselves to disaster, have accepted affliction and pain with a resignation that fell not short of happiness. Many, many retreatants have found it possible to make their own that perfect prayer of resignation: "Thy will be done though in my own undoing".

There is another element of joy for many retreatants the value of which can be easily underestimated. Men are timid about their pieties. Many of them say that they would go to Communion more frequently if they could avoid coming back to the pew from the altar rail. This is ridiculous: nevertheless it is human. Men who are well instructed, right-minded and conscious of an urge toward piety are subjected to inhibitions that result in the avoidance of all evidences of piety. A big strong healthy man does not like to be described as pious. The word seems to him to be juvenile and feminine. Yet in the depth of his heart he longs for God, wishes to feel Him as well as know Him. At a retreat there is a glorious emancipation. There is nothing to hold him back from every delight of the genuine piety for which his soul craves. A retreat is always a spiritual New Year's morning.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

THOUGHTS ON THE "BENEDICTUS".

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Reading Blessed Zachary's canticle with attention a person is struck by his insistence on the idea of "salvation". Following out this line of thought, he has given us a most beautiful hymn on the Holy Name of Jesus.

"He has visited and wrought the redemption of his people," he has given his people a Jesus, a Saviour, a Redeemer.

"Raised up a horn of salvation"—an invincible Jesus, most powerful Saviour.

"Salvation (Jesus) from our enemies and from the hands of all that hate us."

"Being delivered (saved) from the hand of our enemies, we may serve him without fear." Salvation or deliverance is so great as to give us real safety ("sine timore").

"To give knowledge of salvation (Jesus) to his people, unto the remission of sins." Remission of sin is the great purpose of the Incarnation, as the angel said to Joseph: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins." (Mt. 1:21.)

"To enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death," to save them from the blindness of the intellect and its dangers; which is Jesus' work as the Light of the World. "To direct our feet into the way of peace," to lead us to spiritual safety or salvation, which Jesus, the Saviour, was to do as the "Way".

The frequent repetition in different words, salvation, redemption, deliverance, remission, enlightenment and direction to safety, is all the more significant when we remember that the Blessed Virgin had been staying in Zachary's home for

some time, and was probably still there at the time when he recovered his speech. How deeply Zachary must have penetrated into the mystery of the Incarnation and Redemption during the months of silence to be able to utter such words about the Saviour who was so near to him in Mary's virginal tabernacle! But then, of course, he was filled with the Holy Ghost.

Speaking of the "Benedictus", may I ask the assistance of some Hebrew scholar? The phrase, "Orient from on high," does not convey a very clear meaning. Possibly the expression could be reconstructed. "Oriri" also means "to be born". Now if the Hebrew for "oriens" also allows such a rendering, then "oriens" would mean "natus, filius". "Ex alto," I am inclined to think, should read "ex altissimo," after the similar phrase "propheta Altissimi". The idea that "oriens" means "natus" or "filius" is suggested by "per viscera" which seems to indicate the process of a birth.

The verse then would read: "Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos natus ex Altissimo". This again would well agree with the name of Jesus, which means "God is the Saviour".

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Comment on the Foregoing.

Father Esser rightly says that the phrase, "Orient from on high," does not convey a very clear meaning. Commentators are in doubt regarding the precise force of the expression used by St. Luke.

"Oriens ex alto" translates ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους. *Anatole* is used in the Septuagint quite frequently, and also in the New Testament, of the quarter where the sun rises, the East. This meaning is clearly out of the question here.

It denotes also the rising of a star, of the sun especially, above the horizon. This meaning would hardly remove the obscurity.

In a few places the Septuagint translates by *Anatole* the Hebrew word Ṣemaḥ: growth, shoot. So, in the literal sense,

Ezechiel 16: 7: the growth of the field. Confer also the Greek of Ezechiel 17: 10; further Genesis 19: 25; Isaias 61: 11, where the verb ἀνατέλλω translates the Hebrew verb Sāmah: to sprout, grow. *Anatole* is used also figuratively of the Messias who is to come from David's race: the "Shoot," "Branch": Jeremias 23: 5. Confer Zacharias 3: 8 (9); 6: 12. Hence, one might translate: "Shoot from on high," and understand this of the heavenly origin of the Messias. But the phrase, perhaps none too clear, could not be supported by any text from the Old Testament, though the "Benedictus" is full of allusions to, and of expressions taken from, the Old Testament. However, the main difficulty would come from the context. Verse 79 describes the coming of the Messias as a bright light which drives out all darkness. One might, of course, suppose a mixture of figures. But if it is possible to understand the text without such a supposition, it will be better to do so. Now, with many commentators, we may take ἀνατολή as meaning, not the rising of a heavenly body, but as the heavenly body itself, which here will be the sun, as the light of the heavenly body meant by Zacharias reaches the world. Or, if we suppose an Aramaic word like the one used in the Peshitta (Syriac, denḥā), we may understand ἀνατολή as "light," "brightness," "splendor" (confer the Septuagint of Isaias 60: 19 where ἀνατολή renders the Hebrew word nogăh: "splendor," "brightness.") Our text then would be: "in quibus visitabit" [according to the Greek reading preferred by many: "visitabit"] nos, lux [splendor] ex alto". Lux would be, not the subject, but in apposition to the subject of "visitavit". For the thought confer Malachias 3: 30 (4: 2).

Naturally, to understand or reconstruct St. Luke's expressions, we must start from the Greek. Hence, *oriens* could not be taken as equivalent to ortus, i. e. "natus", thence "filius". *Ex alto* can mean only "from on high," i. e. from heaven. It is no direct mention of God, "the Most High". In the context: "*per viscera (misericordiae)*" can only be taken in its usual meaning: bowels of mercy, i. e. tender mercy, without any allusion to the process of a birth.

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THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS AND REPARATION.

There is in every human heart a craving for sympathy and love. It is from God. He put it there and it is there for a purpose. We all know the potent charm of kind words. We know what wonders they are able to produce even in hearts the most obdurate and perverse. Do they not bring cheer and comfort to souls bowed down in deepest affliction? Do they not shed a halo of peace and resignation round the sick-bed? Do they not make poverty and misery more endurable in the hovels and slums of our great cities? Yes, and their power is like magic to soften, to strengthen, to soothe. What all else has failed to accomplish, is oftentimes brought about by kind words. This is our own invariable experience and there is no gainsaying it.

Whence do kind words derive their efficacy? What is the secret of their power over the hearts of men? What else could it be but the love that is behind them,—love that beams from the eye, speaks from the lips, and is mirrored in the whole countenance. Indeed, we are all captives to love. We will love and we must love, whether rightly or wrongly; and it is in this loving and being loved, precisely, that our true happiness consists—in loving rightly, of course.

Some seek their happiness in an honored name. Do they find it there? In all the world's history, has such an object ever yet been able to satisfy man's restless craving for happiness? Look at those whom men call great, whom the press extols, and a fickle public sentiment eulogizes; take, if you will, those whose books are spoken of the wide world over as treasure-houses of thought and models of English diction, or those who stand high in popular estimation as orators or statesmen; call to mind those whose military prowess or consummate generalship has won for them a name that will live in song and story, or finally, those whose profound researches entitle them to be regarded as past masters in the department of science. Have these individuals one and all found the open sesame to true and abiding happiness? And even supposing they have found genuine happiness, will this be because of the honors they enjoy, independently of any spiritual factor that may have

otherwise entered into their lives? We know that it is not so. Universal as may be the distinction that is theirs, or signal the honors heaped upon them, there will always be still higher glory for them to aspire to; and what they have acquired serves only to add fresh fuel to the flame of their desires.

Of all those whose names have found a lasting place in the annals of history, no one is thought to bear a closer resemblance to the great Napoleon of these later times, than the Roman emperor, Septimius Severus. In appraising his own career and its achievements, he remarked on one occasion: "I have been all things, and all things are nothing; and I nowhere found solid contentment and happiness."

Where, then, shall I find my happiness? No doubt in the possession of wealth, which places within my reach and at my disposal every object that could possibly attract the heart of man. Let us visit the rich man's palace. Here one finds luxury, ease, comfort, social prestige, and good fellowship; there are rare books for the mind, soft raiment for the body, delicate viands for the palate; there are fashionable receptions, visits from the great, leisure for the theatre, seasons for the seaside. These and other like objects are indeed the very lodestars of earthly ambition for thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow beings, who fatuously cling to the notion that supreme happiness is necessarily bound up with them. One would imagine that the lessons of history and the facts of their own experience would teach them otherwise.

The illustrious caliph Abderame III, who ruled over the Moors of Spain in their palmiest days, when the crescent still floated over the mountain fastnesses of Granada, raised his kingdom to the highest pitch of splendor and prosperity. Under the wholesome influence of his wise and prudent administration, literature flourished, rapid strides were made in the arts and sciences, and home industry grew apace. Yet never did the greatness of this moslem ruler show forth to better advantage than when, in the very zenith of his power and glory, he gave utterance to these noble sentiments: "I have been caliph for fifty years, and have enjoyed all that men can possibly desire here on earth. Desirous to know the number of days in which, during this long space of time, my

heart was truly happy, I found it upon exact enumeration to amount to fifteen days. Mortals, learn from me to appreciate worldly grandeur and this transitory life."

In our own day, the words of the late Charles P. Steinmetz spoken to his old friend, Roger W. Babson, are very much to the point: "We scientific men have spent our lives studying physical forces. And now—having made the most sensational discoveries in the history of the world—we learn that our knowledge has not brought people happiness. Material things will never bring happiness."

If, then, God has placed this craving for happiness in every human breast, He must have provided mankind with an object capable of satisfying it to the full, for God's works are never futile. Moreover, the object provided by the Creator must be one in which no element of goodness or excellence shall be wanting—an object, too, that shall sum up in itself and, so to speak, crystalize, whatever there is in human love that is pure, worthy, and commendable.

There is on earth, however, nothing that will fully and completely satisfy this craving of man for perfect happiness. God has ordained it so. He has reserved for the next world this perfect satisfying of man's cravings, when He (the Almighty) shall have elevated the human heart above its present level, and made it capable of enjoying the Beatific Vision. But there is something on earth here and now, which, in the mind of God, is intended to be for man, living as he does at present in a twilight of faith, a foretaste of the happiness to come, an anticipation of it, though not in full measure. And what may that something be? It is the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

What a wonderful heart is the Heart of Jesus! May we ever flatter ourselves that we know even a tithe of the blessings and good things of every kind that are stored up in the Sacred Heart of Jesus? It is a focus of light, a furnace of love, a haven of peace and sweetest consolation; it is a guide to the pilgrim, weary and footsore; it is a retreat in time of peace, and a secure refuge in the bitter hour of adversity; it is food to the hungry and drink to them that thirst for the fountains of living water; it unites in itself the sister's affection, the

brother's devotedness, the spouse's tenderness, and the beautiful love of innocent childhood; it is the well-spring of the saint's burning ardors, and the seraph's glowing fires of holy rapture. All that wins, endears, and attracts—every instinct of mercy, sympathy, or kindliness; whatsoever is admirable or praiseworthy in patriotism, or philanthropy; whatsoever the poet has pictured as ideal, or the artist put upon his canvas as greatest and best; whatever there is that we are wont to admire in the brilliancy of the stars, the grandeur of lofty mountains, the majesty of mighty rivers, the rare tints of a gorgeous sunset—yea, the lavish glory of the universe; such things as human eye has never seen, nor human ear has ever heard, nor heart of man has ever conceived; all that is amiable, lovely, splendid, heroic, sublime: all this and more is to be found eminently in the Heart of our Beloved—the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

And why should it not be so? Is not the cause superior to the effect? Is not the author and finisher of a work greater than the work itself? Now Jesus Christ is a Divine Person. He is the Son of God, the Second Person of the ever Blessed Trinity, to whom all creatures owe their being and all they possess. Now the heart of a Divine Person would have to be a Divine Heart; hence, as being such, it would necessarily have to unite within itself everything that is good and perfect, and that in the highest degree. And because whatever is great and good in a person's works is rightfully conceived to emanate from his heart, so we take the heart of our Saviour as the Source of all good, and the Fountain of all love.

To put it another way. In the Incarnation the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity united Himself personally not only to a human soul, but also to a human body. In consequence of this personal union, the Sacred Heart of Jesus is the heart of the Eternal Word of the Father. For all eternity, therefore, will it be a Divine Heart and the Heart of a God. It is then both human and divine: human, because it is part of a human nature; divine, because it is united to a Divine Person.

The Sacred Heart of Jesus, then, is a treasure-house of every excellence; hence it, and not the transitory pleasures of

earth, can satisfy man's craving for happiness, as far as that is possible in the present life; for these things never fully respond to the love which men bestow upon them.

Here, then, is where we are to find our happiness—in loving the proper object, namely, the Sacred Heart of Jesus; and in having that same object, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, fully respond to our affections. It responds in a twofold way: first, because being infinite, it contains in itself everything we can possibly desire; secondly, because both in the present as well as in the past, this Divine Heart has already manifested a love for man that is simply stupendous, awe-inspiring, and well nigh past belief.

The Sacred Heart of Jesus loves us more than we can possibly realize or understand. We have only to point to that silent figure hanging in midair upon the hard wood of the Cross, and we have the most splendid exhibition of love that anyone could ever expect or imagine—Christ died for us. Could love go further? Human love—no; divine love—yes. Jesus has done very much more for us than simply to lay down His life for us, although this were indeed a great deal. Not to speak of the fact that, following his Death, He was pleased to come back to earth again, and to dwell there as a self-imposed prisoner in all of our tabernacles throughout the world, so that He could ever be near to console us, strengthen us, and be the life-giving food of our souls, had He not also been willing prior to His death, to spend thiry years of His life in putting up with all that was hard and repugnant to human nature, in order that He might be for us a guide and a model, showing us how to regulate and reform our lives?

Coming down to earth, as He did in the Incarnation, He was by no means ignorant of all that lay before Him. He had foreseen clearly and vividly not only the accumulated pangs and sorrows of His Sacred Passion, but every minute detail of that tragedy of tragedies was painfully outlined before His unclouded vision. Thus did He suffer these things long before their actual occurrence. It was only too strikingly present to Him, how men would revile Him, load Him with opprobium, saturate Him with reproaches, and turn a deaf ear to His teachings: yet He hesitated not to accept this bitter chalice in ad-

vance. Men, He knew, were going to say of Him that He had a demon; that He was a malefactor; a destroyer of peace, and a seducer of the people. At last would come the harrowing details of the Sacred Passion. No need to recite them in detail. Time and again, year after year, others have done this far better than we could ever hope to accomplish it. It is all an epic of love—tremendous love, inscribed in letters of crimson upon the tablets of the deathless ages.

Men have sometimes been known to die for their friends, but Christ died even for the bitterest of His enemies. There was not a man, woman, or child that was absent from the thoughts of our Saviour at any time. There has not been, nor will there ever be, anybody so wretched and degraded, no felon so steeped in crime, but that Jesus beheld him in the far off, loved him, and generously offered His Blood for him. Such is the love of the Sacred Heart. If deeds be the crucial test of love, then is the test here overwhelming.

It is safe to venture the statement that nearly all of us have had to suffer insult of one kind or another at some time in our careers, whether the insult was intentional or otherwise. Some one has said something, or some one has done something that wounded our feelings, cut us to the quick, bit down deep into the very core of our hearts. If we have never had any such experiences as yet, we can hardly hope to escape them, provided only we live long enough. Or again, it may have been our lot at times to have been underestimated, belittled, or even completely ignored, when we had every reason to hope that our labors would be recognized and appreciated. Instead of this, we were passed over with chilling coldness and disregard. This is hard to bear, because it does seem so cruel and unjust. As a matter of fact, it is cruel—sometimes flagrantly unjust. Yet if ever, in the midst of such shabby treatment, when crestfallen and sick at heart, we sat holding our heads upon our hands in despair, it was our rare good fortune to have had some kind friend—one of nature's noblemen—approach us with sympathetic and cheering words, was this an experience that can ever fade from our hearts to the longest day that we live? It will be for us one of life's most fondly cherished recollections.

It will serve to make up in goodly measure for years and years of ill-usage and neglect. It was reparation.

Poor hearts of ours—made for joy, yet too often steeped in the vinegar and gall of an abiding sorrow. Poor hearts of ours—made for love, yet too often weary and famishing for the lack of it. Will it always be so here on earth? To a greater or less extent, yes. Inasmuch as we are followers of a crucified Master, His cross will rest upon our shoulders even to the end of our days. And perhaps the hardest portion of that cross will often be the wounding and cutting things that others will either do to us or say to us.

There was once a Heart just like yours and mine, only far more sensitive, much more refined. This Heart of which we speak was One that could feel the full measure of an insult, of bitterness of human sorrow. He—the Individual in whose Breast palpitated this Heart so susceptible of every infliction of pain and injury—sought for love among the children of men, and only hatred was the return made to Him. He looked for loyalty among those who classed themselves as His disciples, and they basely deserted Him in the time of His sorest need. He consecrated His entire life most unselfishly to the welfare of others—seeking ever to benefit and save them. In requittal for such heroic charity, they openly and of set purpose chose the vilest of criminals in preference to Him. None of us, it is safe to say, will ever be publicly whipped, until his body becomes a thing of shreds and patches. Not one of us, probably, will ever be regarded as a harmless fool, whose fit place would be in an asylum for jabbering idiots. Not one of us, most likely, will ever have a glaring unjust sentence passed upon him by those who stand, or at least should stand, for law and order; and thus be condemned to an ignominious death—He was. And so He died.

In the course of events, however, it happened that this Person of whom we have been speaking was more than a mere man: He was Divine. And loving each one of us as no one ever loved another before, and that in spite of our treatment of Him, He built for Himself tabernacles throughout the entire world —tabernacles whereby He could ever dwell in our midst day and night, year in and year out. And with what result?

Looking out from any one of these narrow tabernacles upon the men and women of the world, what does He find is their reaction toward Him for all He has done for them? He finds them apathetic, unconcerned, and altogether unappreciative. And mind you, we are not here considering persons not of the faith, nor even haters of God and religion, but persons reared in the fold, and supposed to believe in the Real Presence. These individuals, very many of them at least, doubtless, are often weary of life, sick unto death of the world's hollowness, its shams, its miseries and disappointments: they are almost ready for suicide; yet why does it never enter their heads to betake themselves "to some chapel's dusky aisle apart,"—to the meek and gentle Son of God, who knows so well of all their miseries, and would so eagerly gather them to His Sacred Heart. "Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not?" Many a struggling wayfarer is very near to sinking underneath the burdens he has to carry; yet he dreams not of laying down these burdens at the foot of the altar, there to gain the strength, the courage, and solace of which he stands so greatly in need. In the case of others, again, sin following sin with callous unconcern and heartless ingratitude, only adds its fresh quota to the long score that already soils their guilty consciences; yet the deeply offended and disdained Lover in the tabernacle waits in vain for some of these prodigals to return to their Father's arms again. O God, are there no limits to Thy love even for ingrates?

And among us who calmly take notice of all these goings-on to right and left of us, are there not some of us—persons with seeing eyes and understanding hearts, some few of nature's noblemen, unselfish ones of the race, who will endeavor to make up to our Saviour for the insults and outrages that are daily heaped upon Him in the Sacrament of His Love? There must be. We are sure there are. We are sure there are persons, thank God, who are doing their best to make our Saviour feel that it is worth His while to be with us. Let us illustrate.

There is a convent in a very retired, out-of-the-way part of Ireland, which you do not pass on your road to anywhere. The inmates of this convent are strictly enclosed—shut out

from even the immediate world about them. To one who had sent to this holy centre of divine influence some few books which he hoped might be of use to this Franciscan Convent of Perpetual Adoration, in moments before the Blessed Sacrament, the Mother Abbess replied as follows in her graceful letter of acknowledgement: "Anything relating to the Blessed Sacrament is greatly valued by us, our lives being devoted to the happy duty of trying to love our Divine Lord in the Sacrament of His Love, and to make it worth His while to remain with us."

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GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE POLISH SEMINARY IN THE UNITED STATES.

With the great immigration of Poles to America in the early sixties of the nineteenth century a serious problem arose. Fleeing from religious and political persecution, these immigrants reached the hospitable shores of the United States only to find themselves greatly handicapped by their lack of knowledge of the English language and by their inability to adapt themselves readily to their new environment. Really grave, however, was the fact that the priests who came with them from Poland were too few in number to minister to their spiritual and social needs. As a consequence an urgent demand sprang up for Polish priests and social leaders to lift these helpless immigrants from the plight in which they unexpectedly found themselves.

American bishops in whose dioceses the Poles settled were among the first to realize the poignancy of this situation and they began to seek earnestly for a remedy. Numerous appeals were sent to Rome, addressed principally to Cardinal Ledochowski, then Prefect of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. A scarcity of priests made it impossible for the Cardinal to respond with immediate help. He was, therefore, compelled to seek other means of alleviating the distress of his compatriots.

After thorough analysis, the project of founding a Polish Seminary in the United States offered itself as the ultimate and sole solution. The Rev. Leopold Moczygemba, Peniten-

tiary at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, willingly accepted the difficult though noble mission attached to this plan. His initial efforts were directed to the Apostolic See for permission to begin the work, and since he was a religious, to ask for a dispensation in this regard. His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, after due consideration, not only approved the entire plan, but also gave it his special blessing.

Father Moczygemba was successful in collecting about $8,000 for the work, but advanced age prevented him from completing his task. The funds were entrusted to the Rev. Joseph Dabrowski, a pastor in St. Francis, Wisconsin, who himself was a refugee from political persecution and a promoter of the project which brought the Rev. L. Moczygemba to the United States. With the further explicit approval of the American hierarchy, Father Dabrowski energetically continued the arduous labors of raising the necessary funds to build not only a seminary but also a high school, which would provide the Polish people of America with a sufficient number of priests and an educated professional laity.

The Polish Seminary under the patronage of SS. Cyril and Methodius was ultimately realized as the goal of an unstinted zeal. Detroit was selected as the most central point among the larger Polish settlements, and the work of constructing a suitable building was commenced in the spring of 1885. Courses were opened in both the high school and seminary in December of 1887. Father Dabrowski remained at the head of the institution until his death, 15 February, 1903.

It soon became evident that the original building, in spite of additions, was rapidly becoming inadequate for the accommodation of the increasing number of students. The Rev. Vitold Buchaczkowski, who succeeded Father Dabrowski as rector, bought the site and buildings of the Michigan Military Academy in 1909 and the institution was moved to Orchard Lake, where it continues its educational work.

In 1917 Father Buchaczkowski resigned and Monsignor Michael J. Grupa succeeded him. Under his rectorship, in 1927, the curriculum of the school was reorganized, so that at present there are three complete departments: High School, College, and Seminary.

In 1932 Monsignor Grupa was succeeded by Monsignor A. A. Klowo.

Situated in the midst of the beautiful Bloomfield Lakes region of Michigan the institution enjoys an unrivalled location, within easy reach of Detroit. The students profit from the ample provisions made for outdoor and indoor athletics, and in the last several years the new buildings, which have been added to structures taken over from the Academy, have increased the housing capacity and material comforts of the student body.

The course of studies has been designed to meet the requirements of advanced professional courses—especially, however, of providing proper preparation for entrance into the philosophical and theological departments. It covers a period of twelve years, four years of High School, four years of College (which includes two years of Philosophy), and four years of Theology. The curriculum also makes provision for boys who intend to follow secular vocations.

This year the Seminary is celebrating its Golden Jubilee. Within the fifty years of its existence it has trained approximately one thousand priests. Of this number, about 400 are deceased, while almost 600 are actively engaged in the divine ministry throughout thirty-eight different dioceses in the United States and Canada.

EXPOSITION OF RELICS.

Qu. 1. Is it permissible to have relics exposed in a chapel where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed?

1. It is only on the altar of exposition that the reliquaries of the saints are forbidden. They may be exposed on another altar of the same chapel, though it is better not to do so. (S. R. C. 2365 ad 1) (See Wuest-Mullaney, *Matters Liturgical,* 3rd edition, no. 374; Hébert, *Ceremonial,* p. 314, first half; Fortescue, p. 265 middle.)

2. We understand that they may not be exposed on the altar of exposition, but may they be exposed in the sanctuary or in the body of the church?

2. They may be exposed on a side altar in the body of the church; or even on a credence in the sanctuary, at a certain distance from the altar of exposition. But it is preferable not to distract the piety of the faithful from the Blessed Sacrament, which is exposed in order to be looked at and to be adored.

3. If the Blessed Sacrament is removed from the permanent adoration chapel to a relic chapel—for instance, for one day a few times a year that the adoration chapel may be thoroughly cleaned, should relics which are exposed behind glass in the *body of the chapel* be covered?

3. No. The only place where it is forbidden to expose relics is the *altar* on which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

4. If the relics are a part of the decorative scheme of the chapel walls, must they be covered when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for a day or for some weeks in such a chapel?

4. No. The walls are not the altar; and relics are forbidden *only on the altar of exposition.*

OMISSIONS IN DOUAY BIBLE.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The interesting note by Dr. Francis H. McGlynn, C.S.Sp., in your April number under the heading "An Error of Omission in our Douay Bible?" seems to invite the following short commentary. Fr. McGlynn draws attention to the sixth verse of the eighth chapter of St. Mark in which the Douay version omits the words, "And he commanded the people to sit down on the ground". He might also have noticed Heb. 11:9 "By faith, he abode in the land *of promise, as in a strange land,* dwelling in cottages with Isaac" etc., where the seven italicized words are omitted in modern editions of the Douay Bible.

What is the explanation of these two omissions? They have, it may be said at once, no sort of justification in the Greek text or the Vulgate. The answer is given implicitly in Canon Edwin Burton's *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner,* i, 297.

He quotes the Protestant Archdeacon Cotton as stating in his *Rhemes and Douay, an Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English* (Oxford 1855), that Challoner's second edition (1750) differs from the first edition (1749) in about 124 passages, whereas the third (1752) edition "differs from the first in *more than two thousand places of the Text.*" (Cotton, p. 49). Burton also states (*op cit.*, i, 272) in a footnote that the "popular sixpenny New Testament published of late years by Messrs Burns and Oates follows Dr. Murray's adaptation, representing Challoner's 1749 text." On comparing the third edition of 1752 with the first and second editions one finds that the words in St. Mark and in Hebrews are present in the third edition, but are absent in the earlier issues. But as the first edition is the archetype of our modern editions, it is not surprising that the words have ordinarily been omitted.

It is fairly clear to anybody who will take the trouble to examine Cotton's tables of comparison that the third edition is, on the whole, a more faithful and readable one. It would be interesting to know whether the Catholic publishers had any real authority for picking upon the first edition as the standard one, apart from its issue in Murray's Dublin edition of 1825. It can scarcely be doubted that it was a disaster and one that might seem, at the present day, to be almost beyond remedy!

I may mention, perhaps, that the matter came to my knowledge too late for insertion in my English adaptation of Père Lagrange's *Synopsis Evangelica*. In the relevant paragraph of *A Catholic Harmony of the Four Gospels* (Benziger, 1930) the words of Mk. 8:6 that are omitted in other editions of the Douay text are, alas, also omitted in my edition (§ 117, p. 88). Will buyers of the *Harmony* kindly note this?

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THE ROMAN CENSUS AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

I.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I read with considerable interest the article on this subject which appeared in your December number, as well as the rejoinder in your February number, and I trust that I may be allowed to add the following remarks.

In the first place, with regard to the Tiburtine fragment, it should be pointed out that in the present state of opinion amongst scholars it is not a wholly convincing argument in favor of St. Luke's historicity to declare that this inscription refers to some Roman official who was twice governor of Syria, and that this official was Quirinius. Not only is the ascription fairly generally called in question (e. g., by Croag and by Syme [1]) but it is also denied that the official in question was governor of Syria twice. (The word *iterum* in the last line qualifies *legatus Augusti* and not the words *Syriam . . . obtinuit*). It is true that no more satisfactory claimant than Quirinius has yet been found for the fragment, and it may be pointed out that if the "illustrious unknown" *were* governor of Syria twice, this fact would presumably be recorded on his monument, and we should have to look for some word where we could find it—in the lacuna. Still, we must be chary of basing any case for St. Luke on the *lapis Tiburtinus*.

Secondly, Father Champoux takes it for granted that Quirinius fought the Homonadensian War in the capacity of governor of Syria, and though I myself am of this opinion, it ought to be pointed out that only last year Syme made out a good case for thinking that he was governor of Galatia and not of Syria at the time of the War. If there is anything in this suggestion, the only link between Quirinius and Syria prior to the death of Herod in 4 B. C. is broken, and we are left with no solution.

Thirdly, Ramsay's theory of a dual governorship of Syria by Quirinius and Saturninus is wholly discredited in the eyes of Roman historians, and whilst it is again possible to effect a

[1] Cf. *Klio*, XXVII, pp. 131 sqq. Mr. Syme also read a paper last term in Oxford, in which he urged strongly the claims of L. Calpurnius Piso as the "illustrious unknown" of the Tiburtine fragment.

reconciliation of St. Luke and Tertullian by supposing that Saturninus finished off the census which was ordered by Quirinius but not completed by him, we are again left with a slightly unsatisfactory discord.

On the other hand the evidence for the fact of a fairly widespread census of the Roman Empire about the year 8 B. C. is so striking when taken together, that it seems impossible to deny that St. Luke is certainly correct when he speaks of "the whole world" being enrolled. Further, any suggestion that the story of the census is a sheer fabrication of the evangelist's to explain why Jesus "of Nazareth" was born at Bethlehem, is wholly gratuitous. It seems safest, then, from a purely apologetic standpoint, to approach the problem from the side of the census. That seems to be a fact which no reasonable criticism can deny, and the implication of that fact is that Christ was born in or soon after 8 B. C. Why does St. Luke connect the name of Quirinius with the census of 8 B. C., whilst in the *Acts* he speaks of the days of *the* census, which from the context is clearly the one held in 6/7 A. D., which was certainly carried out by Quirinius? To suggest that he has confused the two is unthinkable in a writer of St. Luke's proved accuracy. Presumably, then, however much appearances may be against it, Quirinius *had* some connexion with the former census. In other words, in reconstructing the history of Roman governorships in Syria during these years, historians ought to regard St. Luke's evidence not as something to fit into their scheme, but as a definite piece of information from which any theorizing must start. Certainly, to prefer the much less painstaking Josephus is unscientific.

There is, however, just one suggestion which I feel I ought to make for what it is worth. It is not impossible that what we regard as two separate "enrolments," sc. that of 8 B. C. and that of 6 A. D., were looked on by the Jews as part of one definite operation. The earlier one, which appears to have caused little disturbance, and was probably less thorough than the later one, might quite naturally have seemed to them to be a sort of preliminary survey for the real thing which coincided with the final absorption of the Jewish nation into the Roman imperial system. In these circumstances the "enrolment"

which took place "under Quirinius" may be actually the *two* enrolments in question. I do not think that it is necessary to have recourse to this explanation in order to safeguard St. Luke's historicity, but it seems preferable to Lagrange's suggestion referred to by Father Champoux.

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DAMAGE DONE TO CHURCHES BY BIRDS.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

This writing is inspired by the report which appeared a very short time ago in the daily press, of the great annoyance caused by birds in the cathedral of Rouen. After enumerating the various kinds of birds that nest there—owls, pigeons, etc.—the report goes on to say that, besides other injuries done by them, the birds have destroyed some of the fine statuary in the cathedral. That the feathered flock are a pest in this country is evidenced by the fact that heads of the Church to-day are applying to architects for a remedy. Nor is the annoyance a new experience. In the financial account of the early mission of Maryland occurs an item like this: "To the Sexton for driving the birds out of the Church, 5s. 6d."

A priest in this country suffered great annoyance from sparrows. After trying a great many remedies—a red balloon, streamers, wire mesh, two-note whistle, poisoned grains, a trap suggested by the Department of Agriculture, an electric coil—all to no avail, he tried scarecrows made to resemble a cat or lynx. Eight of these were hidden in the upper girders. Of course, all nests had been removed. The effect was amazing. Instead of being a bedlam the church became as silent as a tomb, the preacher could now be heard and the chants of the choir were not marred by shrill discordant chirping; the worshipers were not assailed by a rain of filth.

Some years later a few pigeons entered. They are far more persistent than sparrows. They were caught, and a garret opposite the church from which the overflow of pigeons came into the church was sealed. No more trouble ensued. If a buzzer be added to the cats, they will prove a much more effective remedy.

FOWLER.

OUR DIOCESAN RETREATS.*

A right-minded priest welcomes his annual retreat as an occasion to look quietly into his deeper personal relations to God and into the quality of his service of souls entrusted to his care. A priest is right-minded when he is fair to spiritual truth, when he honestly wishes to gain surer knowledge of it and to shape his life with generous loyalty, upon that knowledge. A priest is not right-minded if he assumes that he has no need of improving his insight into spiritual truth, if he believes that he has mastered it adequately and if he takes it for granted that his service in the ministry is without a flaw. Again a priest displays poor judgment if he thinks that he is not surrounded by spiritual perils and if he thinks that he can live and work amidst the distractions of life without effort, reflexion and self-discipline.

All of the spiritual traditions of the priesthood, all spiritual literature that is received with authority, and all qualified leaders in spiritual life agree unanimously in asserting that standards of holiness are established and protected only at the cost of prayer, recollection and effort. A priest who would reject this view or would assume that his manner of life satisfies it completely would hardly be right-minded. The annual retreat springs out of two convictions. The first is that personal holiness and priestly service of souls demand continual and exacting care. The second is that the tendency to carelessness, to the dulling of spiritual senses and the allurements of ease are sources of constant danger to priestly ideals. While there are many practical and wholesome social features of the diocesan retreat which add to its value, its deeper purpose remains always one that is simple in description but at the same time infinitely exacting in quality. That purpose is to clarify spiritual vision, to improve self-knowledge and to strengthen the determination to live in Christ while doing the work of Christ. The duties of sanctifying self while sanctifying souls must be done without reserve and without reluctance. A priest who looks forward to the annual retreat from any standpoint other than this misunderstands it and misunderstands himself.

* This article appeared in our July number, 1928, and is reprinted by request. —EDITOR.

The streets of our cities when not well lighted offer many opportunities for crime and disorder. But when clustering lights drive away the darkness, life and property are made safe and one may go about without fear. The days of the retreat are like clustering lights that cause the forces of evil and carelessness to shrink back into the shadows and show the way to the everlasting hills where God dwells.

It is far from my intention to underrate the good will of priests or their intelligent care of their own souls. Abundant evidence from actual experience sets forth both in a most impressive way. Nevertheless growth in holiness is demanded in all priests and one symptom of that growth is a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved and an earnest intention to do more. "But one thing I do; forgetting the things that are behind; and stretching forth myself to those that are before, I press toward the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus." Hence it may be timely to offer some suggestions that have a bearing upon one's approach to a retreat and upon the spirit in which it should be made. There are experiences and circumstances in parish work which tend in a subtle way against generous coöperation with the graces of a retreat and with the understanding of the fruits that should be expected from it. There are furthermore natural and often unsuspected traits in us which work with subtle effect to undermine good will.

I.

We are in varying degrees afraid of spiritual truth. If responsibility before God is measured by our knowledge, the more we know of spiritual truth the more strictly shall we be held to account. What else does the *Imitation of Christ* mean when we read in it, "The more thou knowest, and the better, so much the heavier will thy judgment therefore be, unless thy life be also more holy"? Courage is required to seek to know God better. We love our ease and our settled ways. They are adjusted to what we know to-day. If we know God better to-morrow we must surrender the ease of yesterday and rise to a new level of renunciation and self-discipline. Selfish reluctance to do this may mislead us into thinking that we know God well enough and excuse us from effort to know Him better.

In such a case one wishes not to know God too well lest He demand more in the service of love than we are willing to give.

A mind which is affected by this fear of knowledge of God is apt to display an accompanying fear of self-knowledge. It requires no little courage for a priest to look frankly into himself and to face the realities that await a searching glance. The honesty of our motives, the sincerity of our efforts and the correctness of our judgments of duty are often taken for granted. Hence we excuse ourselves from an examination of them, led by the subtleties of fear rather than by the enlightened certainty of self-examination. No one who fears to face these questions honestly and lacks the will to revise his certainties will enjoy a retreat. It may be made as a diocesan obligation, but it will hardly denote the beginning of a new life unless all fear of the knowledge of God and recoil against straightforward self-knowledge are conquered with settled determination. We love the clustering certainties of our spiritual life, but willingness to surrender them awaits insight and grace.

Perhaps few priests have failed to meet this trait in the course of parish experience. I have known some instances in which layfolk displayed it unmistakably. The avoidance of knowledge of spiritual obligations with set purpose comes of a reluctance to change one's manner of living. It can be found if we look for it. The priest who has met circumstances of this kind in the course of his work has a first hint as to the lines of his own self-examination during the days of a retreat. Furthermore, his own practical knowledge of psychology and the lessons in self-discipline which are found so widely in spiritual literature equip him perfectly for the study of his own life in respect of this particular feature for it.

II.

The priest faces another problem in his settled habit of mind as a teacher. His work of instruction and his preaching develop in his mind the point of view of the teacher. He explains spiritual truth to others. His preaching sets down practice for others rather than for himself. He looks outward and not inward and he develops a corresponding point of view. The duty of practising is not easily kept in mind when one is preaching. St. Paul had an edifying fear lest when preaching to others he himself should become a castaway.

It is not difficult to imagine a priest delivering an effective sermon on repentance for sin without improving by one iota the quality of his own act of contrition when he next says his night prayers. One may deliver an eloquent sermon on the love of God without any quickening of his own love of our Divine Lord. It is not impossible that a priest would instruct children on the duty of obedience to parents, and parents on their duty to obey the pastor, without improving in any way his own obedience to his bishop. I am speaking of facts and not of ideals. The ideal preacher lives his sermons before he preaches them. The truths that he sets forth to souls entrusted to his care will gain much power when they indicate his own spiritual research and experience and they are not mere admonitions to others. The preacher must travel the pathway that he describes if he would lead his flock toward God. The priest who is not on guard against the point of view of preacher and teacher may easily neglect his own sanctity and descend to a common-place level, while without sacrificing comfort he points to distant spiritual heights and tells his hearers to scale them.

One of the superb features of a diocesan retreat is that it offers direct violence to this point of view. The priest is learner, not teacher. He sits in the pew while another occupies the pulpit and preaches to him. He is asked to surrender his habitual attitude, to sit down quietly during the retreat conferences and to bring a docile mind and the courage of humility to his assistance. The determination to do this, humble willingness to learn and childlike simplicity must replace the dogmatic attitude of authority that is associated with leadership and preaching to a congregation.

III.

There is another difficulty which interferes with the good effect of a retreat under the disguise of zeal. This is met when the priest sets out to get sermon material from retreat conferences, a by no means unusual attitude. Now no one should find fault with the priest who wishes to preach good sermons. We can have only praise for one who is constantly on the watch in order to improve his style or method of presentation or form of appeal in his sermons. This is a practical duty

involved in the very nature of the priest's office. But if he brings that point of view to the retreat it places him in a false position and baffles the efforts of the retreat master. When this is done one becomes an observer not a learner. One is thinking of distant obligations and not at all of present duty. The docility which should be brought to a retreat is displaced by the untimely zeal of the preacher of future sermons. Self-examination will be neglected. The need of prayer and effort will be greatly underrated and the real fruits of the retreat will be missed.

There is no particular reason why notes should not be made faithfully after a retreat conference. The retreat master as a specialist should be able to interpret the truths of spiritual life with permanent effect. Nor is there any reason why, in the long run, the insight that is gained in a retreat should not be made use of in future preaching. But all of this is secondary and it must be made secondary if the retreat is to accomplish anything at all. Its first purpose is the sanctification of the priest. After he has faithfully made use of it in improving his own spiritual vision and self-knowledge no fault can be found with further use of it. He may well use it in his future preaching. But this is always a by-product and never a main purpose in a retreat.

IV.

Another obstacle that is met in a retreat arises out of the loss of the habit of reflexion. A busy pastor lives outside of himself. He does not like to be alone and free from activity. He is unwilling "to sit alone in his room and think." This is due to the nature of modern life in general and of parish life in particular. Parishioners must be met. Instructions must be given. Visits are made and received. Confessions must be heard. The sick are to be cared for. Business duties of many kinds invade time and absorb energy. The newspapers must be read. Light reading is resorted to when one is fatigued. Days and evenings are taken up in this way and the habit of being busy, of living outward is easily established. The habits of mind that result assemble a thousand distractions round the soul of the priest and he is inclined to lose himself among them. It is much easier to act than to think, simpler

to say routine prayers than to meditate, more agreeable to be busy with others than to be occupied with oneself. Love of silence and reflexion is easily lost, the more easily because all of these distracting duties are done as expressions of zeal. But there can hardly be any duty in the life of a priest that really demands the surrender of all reflexion and leads to a settled dislike of being alone with God.

The annual retreat brings to these habits of distraction and divided life a sudden interruption. All outward-looking duties are suspended during these days of consecration. The soul of the priest and the claims of his own sanctification have the right of way and God is invited back into His unchallenged jurisdiction in heart and preferences. From this standpoint the silence that is asked for during the retreat days takes on an unusual dignity and significance. The priest leaves his home in order to be freed from his parish duties. He comes to the retreat and isolates himself in order that he may walk with God. Many priests are brought together to make the retreat. They are asked to isolate themselves from one another by silence. The retreatants are near one another physically but silence enables them to be distant from one another socially while they study their souls and their God. The days go by rapidly. There is much to be done. Waste of time by idle conversation would be a fault against courtesy to others, a refusal of renunciation, a lack of self-discipline altogether out of keeping with the purpose of the retreat and an obstacle in the way of the retreat master who directs it. Unwillingness to observe silence would seem to indicate that one had not left behind the distractions of life or that one disliked to be alone. The faithful observance of silence is a direct contribution by example to the success of the retreat. It is proof that one does not recoil from self and that one undertakes to study with care the duties that relate to personal sanctification.

V.

Another difficulty, which again is subtle, rises from a kind of minor rationalism to which all of us are naturally inclined. A priest is disposed to inject many of his own personal views into the domain of spiritual truth. When he does this he adopts the method of private interpretation in spiritual life just as

Protestantism adopts it in doctrinal belief. It is, of course, self-evident that an intelligent priest will have his own views, his own conscience, his own understanding of spiritual teaching. But authority prevails in spiritual life just as it does in the realm of belief. The priest is called upon to cherish reverence for the authoritative interpretations of spiritual life which constitute the substance of its direction. If he underrates that authority and substitutes his own notions with the intention of living by these he seems to display a kind of minor rationalism. Instances are at hand.

All of the authorities that command respect agree that meditation is actually necessary in the life of a priest. There are undoubtedly many substitutes in use which are directed by temperament and circumstances. I doubt if one of them could be found among spiritual authorities as enjoying any approval whatever. Now the priest who does not meditate at all sets aside grave authority in spiritual life and adopts a practice that is dictated by his own preference. Here we meet private interpretation standing against authority. Our spiritual leaders interpret the duties of penance and mortification in a fairly stable and impressive manner and those who have attained to a high degree of sanctity have found these sanctioned practices helpful in the highest degree. The priest who either evades these duties or who follows an easy interpretation of them which suits his temperament, abandons the ways of spiritual authority and follows the principles of private interpretation.

One may well hesitate to be specific here. It is more fair perhaps to give a hint than it is to give an illustration. In a general way one may state theoretically that the priest should be disposed to look for authoritative interpretations of all of the duties of spiritual life, to hold them in respect, to seek constantly to understand them more faithfully and to be on guard at all times against the intrusion of personal and superficial views as the foundations of spiritual practice. The practices of spiritual life must be adjusted to circumstances and to duties. All of these adjustments may be trusted without reserve if the attitude of seeking guidance from qualified authorities is cherished and willingness to follow them as far as possible is shown. No traces of minor rationalism will ever be found in the life of such a priest.

One of the ways in which this practice of substituting personal for authoritative views in spiritual life is found in the habit of juggling definitions. Those who are scrupulous expand definitions of virtue and duty to intolerable extremes. Those who are careless shrink definitions of virtue and duty to limits which defeat all spiritual ideals. Noble men make noble definitions and live up to them. Mean men make mean definitions and live down to them. One might imagine a priest whose definition of injustice is so narrow as to permit him to be guilty of real cruelty without the slightest disturbance of conscience. One can imagine a priest who makes a definition of honesty that permits him to neglect the paying of his debts without the slightest consciousness of wrongdoing. Now noble definitions of honesty and justice will prevent dishonesty and injustice assuredly. We should find only ennobling definitions in the priesthood.

The annual retreat gives to the priest both incentive and opportunity to examine his definitions. The common consent of refined men is fairly definite in defining virtues and vices in the Christian life. The priest who is right-minded will accept the definitions that guide his life as these are found in all spiritual literature, and he will permit neither temperament nor whim to juggle with them in any way that will debase him to a lower level of life.

While the tendency described is perhaps universal because all of us naturally recoil from self-discipline, it is found among priests as a result of minimizing in Moral Theology. The humorous remarks that are made in our own circles about the effect of Theology upon conscience should stir to grief instead of to laughter. If the *Imitation of Christ* should be our law, generosity toward God and severity with self would be our practice. The days of the annual retreat invite attention to this aspect of our spiritual life. In addition to the examination of conscience, examination of definitions is called for in order that we may be lifted to higher levels upon which consecration makes our definitions, love governs our loyalties, and the grace of Christ completes our strength.

VI.

Retreat masters conduct a retreat under the limitations that mark them. Their task is not easy. They must assume an authority that they perhaps do not feel. They address spiritual experts, superior no doubt often in intelligence and sanctity. If those who make a retreat bring good will and an earnest determination to profit by it, they make the work of the preacher happy and effective. Without generous coöperation on their part no retreat can be successful. While the greatest variety will be found in subjects chosen for conferences and in the style and manner of presentation, it is hardly probable that any retreat could be preached without in some way touching the points that have been set forth. It is possible, therefore, to associate consideration of them with faithful attention to the conferences given in any retreat whatsoever.

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE HOLMES AND CANON SHEEHAN.

To many of the present generation it may be that Canon Sheehan, who died in 1914, just as the world war was opening, is becoming only the shadow of a great name. At the close of last century and during the first decade of the twentieth, the illustrious pastor of Doneraile, an out-of-the-world little village in County Cork, Ireland, was one of the great ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEWERS. He leapt into fame with *My New Curate,* his first clerical novel, which ran serially in these pages. Two other books of his had already appeared at the time, but had attracted little attention. The Canon frequently made mention of this fact in expressing his gratitude for the spontaneous appreciation accorded his writings by the American clergy. To Father Heuser, founder of the REVIEW and its editor for so many years, credit is deservedly given for "discovering" and fostering the literary genius of Canon Sheehan. The American priest editor and the Irish priest author were akin in literary and priestly interests, and were united in close friendship up to the time when Canon Sheehan laid down his gifted pen forever. In tribute to his memory, Dr. Heuser wrote the fascinating and edifying story of his fruitful career, *Canon Sheehan of Doneraile.*

Besides his clerical stories, most of which were first given to the world through the REVIEW, the scholarly pastor of Doneraile wrote several articles for these pages. One of them, published

without his name and known as his to hardly anybody, makes timely reading at this time of the year when so many of our readers are preparing for their annual retreat. Those who have a copy of it at hand might do worse than reread it to-day, and those who haven't a copy might do well to beg, borrow or purloin a copy. It is written in the Canon's best mood, and will be found in the June number of the REVIEW of 1902. Its perusal may happily revive fresh interest in Canon Sheehan's works.—EDITOR.

When Oliver Wendell Holmes, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court for twenty-nine years, his life having spanned almost to a day ninety-four years, resigned his great office, he brought to a close one of the most outstanding judicial careers in the history of America, and removed from American public life one of its most colorful and beloved personalities. President Hoover, in accepting his resignation, wrote: "I know of no American retiring from public service with such a sense of affection and devotion of the whole people." And this tribute to the great "liberal" Judge was repeated by the nation, when a few months ago he passed from this earth.

A Liberal by temperament, son of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,* taking his place by right of birth among the Brahmins of Boston, Justice Holmes, as soldier in the Civil War, philosopher and jurist, will fill a large niche in our national temple of famous men.

In London, the leaders of the British Bar, at the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, paid high tribute to him, many sharing John Morley's opinion of him that he was "the greatest Judge of the English-speaking world".

But there is another phase of his life which, until his biography is written, is little known. It is the close and intimate friendship that existed between Justice Holmes, the Unitarian New Englander, and the distinguished Catholic priest, Canon Sheehan, of Doneraile, Ireland. There will be no more fascinating and colorful page in "The Life and Letters of Justice Holmes", than that which will tell of their chats, *Under the Cedars and the Stars* (one of the Canon's many popular books), and the very intimate correspondence carried on between those

two kindred spirits—closely related by their interest in things of the mind—especially morals, philosophy and the perplexing social problems of the day.

The acquaintance began with a visit of Justice Holmes to his friends, Lord and Lady Castletown (family name, Fitzpatrick) at "Doneraile Court," Ireland. The story of the friendship between the American Justice and the Irish Canon is told by Father Heuser, in his admirable life of the author of *My New Curate,* etc. It was Lord Castletown's custom to introduce visitors of distinction in the literary or educational world at the Catholic Rectory, for he held the Canon in high esteem, not only for his mental attainments but also for his practical efforts in promoting the moral and economic interests of the district. In this way, Justice Holmes met the author of *My New Curate,* and they were friends for life. The philosophical habit of mind and literary tastes of the two men appear to have drawn them toward each other at once and there sprang up between them an intimacy fruitful of rare intellectual intercourse, as is manifest from their correspondence, covering nearly ten years, down to the very close of the Canon's life.

"I sincerely hope," writes the Canon, after the departure of his American friend, "you will find time during the long vacations" (of the Supreme Court) "to run over again, for your little morning visits to me were gleams of sunshine across a grey and monotonous life." The attraction for Canon Sheehan was but natural. Though wholly contented in the life of pastoral duties and the literary occupation which he had chosen, he at times felt the comparative isolation which separated him, as it does many a Catholic priest, from intercourse with men of congenial temperament and education. The clergy whom he met were apt to discuss parochial matters or "talk shop," as the saying goes. On the rare occasions when he went abroad he met men of science or letters on a professional footing, for he was a distinguished graduate of the famous College of Maynooth. In correspondence with his more intimate friends alone did he find that incentive to intellectual (one of his books is *The Intellectuals*) activity which he so highly valued and which he sought to cultivate among those for whom he labored. "I feel my greatest want to be some intercourse with minds whose ideas would act as a stimulant to

thought by casting new light on old subjects." Now he found the company of Justice Holmes exceedingly pleasant and to his taste, because it brought him face to face with an original thinker on subjects that were of the deepest interest to both. Accordingly we find those two men discussing, across the Atlantic, problems of philosophy and literary art, as well as the incidents of daily life which touched their special callings. For obvious reasons the letters of Justice Holmes are not yet available, but doubtless will be later on, and the whole correspondence will be of deepest interest.

During those morning causeries in the Canon's garden no doubt they discussed the poet, Spenser, who wrote the *Fairie Queen* (Elizabeth) at Kilcolman Castle (the Church of Colman, patron saint of the Canon's native diocese), which is within the parish limits of Doneraile. Of one of the Canon's own books, *Under the Cedars and the Stars,* Justice Holmes writes him, "This moment I have just finished your book. It is the only book I have read since I received it. And now I must tell you of the love and exaltation which your words have the skill to command, as few words that I have read anywhere can. It is true that I don't believe your philosophy, or shall I say the religion you so beautifully exalt . . . I do not want to burden you either with my reflexions or with the feeling that you must answer. I simply want to tell you more emphatically than before, now that I have finished your book, that I owe you my admiration and thanks." [1]

It is told of the author of *Uncle Remus,* Joel Chandler Harris, that in his retirement he chose "The Bible, Thomas à Kempis, then Shakespear, Newman, and Sheehan". At this time he had not yet become a Catholic. Another book from the Canon reaches Justice Holmes, who writes from Washington, 7 November, 1907: "I thank you for your novel. . . . It has the same sweet idealism, the same poetic turn, that I know, the same tender feeling. I wish I had something to send in return." And this mild bit of criticism: "I think your fashionable people and men of the world are not quite as real as your peasants; and I wonder whether there is not implied too wholesale a condemnation of the fashionable world." Per-

[1] Dated February, 1904.

haps the Judge, in later years, would modify his opinion of the "fashionable world" of to-day, at least in America?

Writing to Justice Holmes, 26 August, 1910, the Canon remarks, apropos of a letter from Holmes: "Would you be surprised to hear in what you say about "Intellect", you come very near the dogmatic teachings of the Church, especially as laid down in the late encyclical against "Modernism," one of the most remarkable documents that has ever been issued by the Holy See? It is a condemnation of "Emotionalism, or Intuitionalism," as the sole motive of faith. The Church takes its stand upon reason as the solid foundation on which faith rests. . . ." Then follows in the same letter: "I know you will not urge medieval persecutions which we all condemn and deplore. The ages were barbarous, and then heresy was a political crime, a kind of treason. . . . I am in thorough sympathy with you in your conviction of the sacredness of human liberty. It seems to me a kind of sacrilege to trespass on that Holy of Holies—the human conscience." And so this very interesting correspondence runs on between two kindred spirits. On 25 March, 1911, we have this characteristic note: "I am sending you by book-post my own copy of Dante—the companion of my holidays . . . I have unfortunately made pencil marks here and there, but they will only amuse you. Don't trouble to acknowledge: but keep it *in pignus amicitiae*".

The Canon writes, 31 August, 1909, to congratulate his friend on the distinction lately conferred on him by the University of Oxford. "The fact," he observes, "has raised the Oxford Dons somewhat in my esteem, because it seems to indicate that they have departed from what has been a religious tradition in the British mind that everything American is very *"young"* and *immature* and still under the benevolent patronage of the Mother Country. Only quite lately in the *Times Literary Supplement* some letters of Swinburne's were published in which he speaks in a very patronizing manner of your Emerson; and again, quite lately, I have been reading the letters of Coventry Patmore in which he ridicules the idea that Longfellow could ever be considered a poet. And, I send you herewith a copy of the *Supplement* [London Times] in which you will notice a certain tone of British condescension toward American litterateurs, whilst accepting the world's verdict on

the *Autocrat*. And, so I rejoice that Oxford found you out." And the Canon adds; "I do hope that the Centenary Celebration of your revered father will be the success every lover of his books and gentle character expects."

In another letter to Holmes, he writes: "My books have never caught on in France, because I have written somewhat enthusiastically about Germany; but in the Fatherland and especially Austria-Hungary, they are great favorites." They were also very popular in the United States, especially among clerical readers and a large body of the Catholic laity. But the end of this lovely friendship was drawing to a close. The Canon was stricken by a serious illness. The end was not far off. Among the letters he wrote in his last days are several to Justice Holmes, with whom he kept up, to the end of his life, a happy correspondence that is as illuminating as it is characteristic of a priestly and brilliant mind. To his American friend, he wishes to be at rest. He writes: "To my intense disgust and regret the doctors pulled me back from the 'eternal rest' to face the world as a chronic invalid. Fortunately I have no pain and no depression of spirits whatsoever, but I wish I had been at *rest*." And in this same letter, here is a thought that will be helpful in these dark days of depression: "If ever the masses come to understand that money is the meanest and most powerless factor in creating human happiness; and that the great and good things of life are unpurchasable, things might swing around to an equilibrium. But the mansion seems such a contrast to the tenement house that reason has no place there."

And then we have this: "There is only one matter which to me is unforgivable in your fine career—that you have not written some great book on history or political economy. I have always thought you could do as well as Bryce or Lecky; and I should like future generations to know you, even as you are known to your contemporaries. I think mysticism is not in your line. I remember you had no sympathy with Emerson, and not much with Carlyle. But you could direct this very practical and erratic generation on your own lines. And considering the stirring days [the Civil War] of your youth, your 'Memoirs' would be very valuable to the future."

The end was now near. Among the friends who were to cheer the Canon in his last illness was Justice Holmes, who writes: "During the last summer of his life I was at Doneraile and called every day after luncheon. He and I feared he was dying, though I did not admit it. One day he bade me go to his library and select a book. On his assurance I took Suarez *De Legibus* (the great Spanish Jesuit theologian) which I had heard him praise, and it bears his inscription—August 5th, 1913. I wish that I could have offered him something besides affection and reverence for his lovely spirit."

Autumn had come and almost gone; the leaves were falling from the trees; the birds were seeking shelter beneath the laurels—so, he too would seek shelter beneath Mother Earth and within the shade of his parish church, to await the awakening of a new and eternal Spring in Paradise.

The saintly Irish priest welcomed Death with a gentle smile, the New England Unitarian jurist, his devoted friend, with *a jest.* That was a difference. But for both, we trust, it was a true home-going.

I followed a morning star
And it led to the gates of light:
With a cry of "Hail and rejoice!"
And farewell to the things that are,
And hail to eternal peace,
And rejoice that the day is done,
For the night brings but release
And threatens no waking sun.

MORGAN M. SHEEDY

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DIOCESAN PATRONS.

Qu. St. Rose of Lima is patroness of Latin America. The Los Angeles Ordo refers to the feast as follows: "S. Rosae Limanae, Pat. Amer. Latinae, d. I cl., cum. Oct." Does this imply that the diocese of Los Angeles is included in Latin America and that even regulars should celebrate the feast of St. Rose as "d. I. cl."

Resp. A decree of the Holy See is necessary in order that a saint may be liturgically declared patron of a nation, province, diocese or even of a confraternity. This rule was made by Urban VIII in 1630 and it is incorporated in canon 1278 of the Code.

St. Rosa of Lima died in 1617 and was canonized in 1671 by Clement X, who declared her "principal patron of America" [Latin America], "the Philippines and the East Indies", soon after her canonization. Up to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which on 4 July, 1848, the Mexican government ceded to the United States more than one-half of the whole territory of California, the present diocese of Los Angeles and San Diego was a part of the immense diocese of "Both Californias" which had been erected in 1840. Accordingly in those days until the American conquest Los Angeles belonged to Latin America and had St. Rose of Lima as liturgical patron.

We do not think that this privilege was forfeited by northern California when all of this territory was ceded to the United States. Hence regulars in California should celebrate the feast of St. Rose of Lima as a double of the first class but without octave. (See New Rubrics of the Breviary, Titulus IX, No. 3.)

A diocese, a province, a whole nation may have several liturgical patrons, provided that the choice of each one has been approved by the Holy See. The feast of each patron thus approved must be celebrated as a double of the first class without octave by all regulars and diocesan priests and other religious societies exempted by decree 4312 from the celebration of other local feasts. (See New Rubrics of the Breviary, ad normam bullae *Divino Afflatu,* Titulus IX, no. 3.)

CANON LAW PERTAINING TO BAPTISM.

The following rules have been sent to the REVIEW, and we are glad to follow the suggestion to print them for our readers.

1. If the infant has been born or if only the head has emerged and there is imminent danger of death, it should be baptized by pouring sterile water on its head, saying at the same time in a low voice: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

2. If some other member of the body should emerge, it should be baptized on this member if the danger of death is imminent, but then, if being born it should survive, it must be baptized again conditionally.

3. If a pregnant mother should die, the fetus, having been extracted by those upon whom this duty devolves, should be baptized absolutely, if it is certainly alive; if doubtfully alive, it should be baptized conditionally.

4. A fetus baptized in the uterus should again be baptized conditionally after birth.

5. Let care be exercised that all abortive fetuses, at whatever time they are expelled, be baptized; absolutely, if they are certainly alive; conditionally, if they are doubtfully alive, using this form: "If thou art alive, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

6. In all cases of 'still birth' in which there are no signs of puetrefaction, conditionally baptize the child. Pour water on the child's head and say at the same time, "If thou art alive, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

7. In a difficult or prolonged parturition in which there is reason to fear that the child will not be born alive, intra-uterine baptism should be performed, using a syringe filled with sterile water. It is necessary that the water come in contact with the body of the child, preferably the head, and therefore the membranes should be ruptured.

As there is always a doubt with regard to the validity of intra-uterine baptism, in practice you should baptize again conditionally after it is born, pouring water on the child's head and saying "If thou art not baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

AGAIN WINE MADE FROM RAISINS.

Qu. The ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for March, 1934, pp. 300-301, contains an answer to a consultation regarding a method of making wine for Mass from raisins. This method is similar to one in use in our diocese. It was described, in a private way, by one of our bishops when in Rome and suggested by him to all the priests of the diocese. The amount of water is supposedly equivalent to the water existing in normal grapes. The *Ami du Clergé* of 24 November, 1921, contains a study which justifies a similar method of making sacramental wine.

This method of making wine is probably better than the one you describe in the REVIEW. In the other case the raisins absorb a certain portion of the water and, after being well soaked, are pressed and the liquid extracted is left to ferment. There is no doubt that the raisins themselves which are thrown away, have still their natural virtue and the liquid thus obtained is not the entire extract of the raisins. On the other hand, when the raisins are left long enough in the water the entire strength is present in the mixture.

In 1706 a missionary bishop in Ethiopia described to the Holy Office how they made sacramental wine in his vicariate. His method was the one you relate. Rome answered that the method was lawful, provided the wine thus obtained "had the color, taste and odor of wine". This seems consequently to be the normal condition. Those who make wine will say that the wine obtained in the manner we follow, as described above, is real wine; that it has "the color, odor, taste" of wine and that it has the required quantity of alcohol, etc.

I do not see why this *materia* can be unlawful and how the consecration is exposed to the danger of invalidity. You have here real wine, produced without any artificial elements—"vinum de vite" consequently, with the required proportion of alcohol. The proportion of water not absorbed by the raisins is large, you say. Why must the water be absorbed by the raisins? The method described by the missionary of Ethiopia is not necessarily the only one allowed by the Church. It has received sanction, but that does not signify that other methods which are as sure and perhaps better are *ipso facto* unlawful.

In practice, the method you describe can hardly be recommended in our countries, as it would apparently require a very great quantity of raisins and would be very expensive, without giving better results.

Resp. The wine made by the method described by our inquirer was not said to be certainly *materia invalida.* The position taken in the several recent conferences on this question is this: the Holy Office has given its approval to one method of making wine for Mass from raisins; in view of the necessary quality of *vinum de vite* it does not seem justifiable to follow any other method until there is certainty that the wine thus prepared is really *materia valida,* lest the consecration of such wine be exposed to the danger of invalidity; the necessary certainty that this wine is *materia valida,* can scarcely be obtained except by a declaration of the Holy Office.

If the assertion that "this method of making wine is probably better than the one you describe in the REVIEW," means that it is easier, that can be conceded; so too, if it means that a larger quantity or a stronger alcoholic content may be obtained. But none of these settle the one question whether the method is safe or not.

We are not in a position to state whether or not the proportion of water to the quantity of raisins is equivalent to the amount of water present in normal grapes. But that proportion alone will not remove the difficulty.

What is quoted by our inquirer from the decision of the Holy Office has its force, but can easily be carried to extremes—with the consequent danger of perhaps an invalid consecration.

If insistence is placed on the water being absorbed by the raisins before they are pressed, it is because that is essential to the method which has received the approval of the Holy Office. We do not maintain that this method is necessarily the only one that may be allowed by the Church: but it has received the approval of the Holy Office. The one proposed by our inquirer *may* be admissible, but it may also be inadmissible. We did not declare that the wine produced by it is certainly *materia invalida.* But in the present stage there appear to be sufficient reason to raise a doubt: thus it appears to be *materia dubia* and, as long as it appears doubtful, it must be considered for practical purposes unlawful. The principles of probabilism oblige us to follow the *pars tutior* in a case such as this, when there is question of the validity of the Sacrament. This appears to be the only safe rule to follow, until the Holy Office has passed on the question whether the method under discussion can safely be used or not.

VALENTINE SCHAAF, O.F.M.

CELEBRATING MASS WITHOUT CHALICE.

Qu. Can you publish the text of a rescript that permitted two missionaries held in captivity by Communists in China, to celebrate Mass occasionally without consecrated chalice and allowed a corresponding privilege concerning altar breads?

Resp. The text of the rescript to which reference is here made, follows:

Beatissime Pater,

Praepositus Generalis Soc. Jesu ad pedes S. V. provolutus, petit pro sacerdotibus Soc. Jesu P. Avito Gutierrez et P. Thoma Esteban, quousque in captivitate communistarum in Sinis detinebuntur, facultatem celebrandi aliquoties in anno Missam votivam de B. M. V. sine vestibus sacris, cum una tantum mappa et parvo purificatorio, et cum parvo vase, quo Sinenses pro vino uti solent; itemque petit ut uti valeant pane non fermentato aut fermentato ex farina tritici modo sinensi cocta.

Et Deus, etc.

Ex audientia Sanctissimi habita die 6 julii 1933.

Ssmus D. N. Pius Div. Prov. Papa XI, attentis expositis, benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces.

Datum Romae ex aedibus S. C. de P. F., die et anno quibus supra.

CAROLUS SALOTTI,
Arch. tit. Philip., Secr.

VESTURE OF PRIEST WHEN PREPARING PYX AT TABERNACLE.

Qu. Is it permitted to go to the altar in secular clothes, i. e. without cassock, surplice and stole, to place the sacred host in the pyx for a sick-call; excluding a time when an emergency requires all possible haste?

Is it permitted to go to the altar in secular clothes over which a stole is worn, to fetch a pyx previously prepared for a sick-call? In both cases it is supposed that two candles are lighted on the altar.

Resp. Excluding an emergency which requires all possible haste, a priest who is about to bring Holy Communion to a sick person should wear his cassock, surplice and stole while he places a sacred host in the pyx for the sick-call.

O'Kane thinks it well to keep the small pyx always ready, containing the sacred host, in the tabernacle. In this case, he says, the priest may open the tabernacle and take out the pyx, wearing the dress in which he will go to the home of the sick person.

But if he has to take a particle from the ciborium and put it in the pyx, he should be vested in cassock, surplice and stole, changing afterward in the sacristy to the dress which he will wear on the street. (See Wapelhorst, eleventh edition, p. 279, n. 185; and Fortescue, edition of 1930, p. 439.)

KISSING A BISHOP'S RING.

Qu. Does ecclesiastical etiquette require that a Monsignor, apart from ceremonial functions, kiss the bishop's ring as simple priests do?

Is it the rule to stand when kissing a bishop's ring, apart from ceremonies, except in the case of the Ordinary?

Resp. There is nothing in official liturgical books that precisely covers these two points of etiquette. The bishop's ring is kissed out of reverence for his office, as Nainfa in his work *Costume of Prelates* (p. 143) indicates. This reverence should be paid to the bishop even by Monsignors, without making it an act of obligation.

A genuflexion to the Ordinary is normally required in ceremonies by all who are not prelates, or canons. The celebrant of the Mass *coram Episcopo* is likewise excepted. From this it has become customary to kneel while kissing a bishop's ring outside of ceremonies. Nainfa again is helpful (p. 144): he would consider it proper to kneel to a cardinal everywhere, to an apostolic delegate throughout the territory of his delegation, to an archbishop in his province, and to the Ordinary within the limits of his diocese.

A CASE OF RESTITUTION.

Qu. A solution of the following case will be appreciated by some of your readers.

John Williams, a veteran of the world war, was killed in an automobile accident, through the culpable negligence of the driver of an automobile in which John was riding. A brother of the deceased arranged with an undertaker for a funeral which cost $400.00. Of this, the undertaker discounted $100.00 as a token of respect for the family.

After the funeral, the driver was brought into court by the police and sentenced to gaol and to pay all the expenses of the funeral of John Williams. The undertaker, thereupon, collected $400.00 from the driver, that is, the full cost of the funeral. In addition to this, the Government paid the undertaker $100.00. (This sum is allowed to every veteran who dies possessed of less than $2000.00. I have not been able to learn whether the money is given for funeral expenses exclusively.) Of this $500.00 received, the undertaker paid

to the brother who arranged for the funeral $200.00, that is the $100.00 discount and the $100.00 received from the Government. The brother was the sole heir.

May this $200.00 be retained?

Resp. The $200.00 specified above certainly may not be retained by the undertaker. In the first place, the fee of $400.00 collected from the driver of the automobile was evidently a fair price for the funeral. The extra $100.00 added by the government may, however, be retained because it is regularly allowed by law in the cases of deceased veterans. If the undertaker should retain any part of the money given him by the brother of the deceased, he would be making an extortionate charge for the funeral. The second reason why he may not retain the $200.00 in question is that the brother of the deceased would never have paid anything for the funeral if he had known that the driver of the automobile would be required by law to pay the funeral expenses. In other words, the brother of the deceased paid for the funeral on the assumption that no one else was going to pay. It is clear, therefore, that the undertaker has no title to this sum of $200.00.

"CHRIST . . . DIETH NOW NO MORE."

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I like your answers to the questions about the Mass on pages 416 and 417 of the April number. One thing I would add, and it is this. Sacrifice is essentially a liturgical act. The history of religion shows that no sacrificial liturgical act was ever complete till the victim slain, or the blood of the victim slain, reached the altar. "We have an altar" (Hebr. 13: 10). On that altar the Body of the Victim slain on Calvary together with the Blood of the slain Victim is handed over to God daily with fitting rite and ceremony. This, without more ado, is the Mass, and it is thus that the Sacrifice of Calvary is completed liturgically. For the rest, St. Paul clearly bears out what you say: "Christ, rising from the dead, dieth now no more; death hath no more dominion over Him." Well have Wilhelm and Scannell animadverted upon the painful efforts of theologians to inflict a species of death upon the risen Lord.

BISHOP ALEXANDER MACDONALD

Criticisms and Notes

YOUTH AND CHASTITY. By the Right Rev. Monsignor Tihamer Toth. Toronto: Garden City Press. 1934. Pp. 239.

Monsignor Toth is professor of psychology at the University of Budapest and rector of the seminary of that city. He has spent thirty years among boys, both as teacher and director. Little wonder then that his book for boys, *Youth and Chastity,* has been translated into fourteen languages. The English translation by Stephen Chapkovich is the fifteenth version to be brought out.

The book should be read widely by our boys. The descriptions of the awakening of the sex instinct (pp. 38-39) and of the first sin, committed while attending a movie (pp. 44-45), will forewarn and therefore forearm the boy. Some boys may be saved by the life-like accounts of the devices employed by the tempter. For instance, the force of ridicule and sarcasm as described on p. 127: "I never knew you were such a coward, such a sanctimonious mug . . ." fly the arrows of sarcasm. "Look, what a baby! He has not yet got past thumb-sucking! Well, you musn't come with us if you are such a milksop!" "What! I a coward, a baby?" You will bluster out when they have worked you up to the fever pitch. "Wait, boys, I am going with you!" The author rightly adds: "In some such manner has many a boy fallen into the clutches of sin for the first time. He wanted to put an end to the heckling. In the second or third attack no goading was found necessary."

At times, however, the author would seem to exaggerate the physical ills resulting from immorality; for instance, on p. 54 and on pp. 86ff. Father Kirsch has produced telling evidence in his book, *Sex Education and Training in Chastity,* that in preserving the purity of the young, fear alone is the weakest of motives. Young people are not afraid of danger. Automobile and aviation records show that they are ready to take all sorts of chances, sometimes with fatal results. After they grow older they will be more impressed by the warnings of physical danger. However, to people under twenty-five, death and disease seem a long way off, and luck is supposed to help them out. Hence we should not expect too much from the recital of the physical dangers involved in promiscuity. Still, it would be well if all our young people were plainly instructed about such dangers as the common drinking-cup, as is done in the present book on p. 96: "I once knew a fifteen-year old boy whose palate was broken through by syphilis, and a communication established between the

cavities of mouth and nose. This poor boy was as pure as snow, but it happened that during the summer holidays, while working among a gang of bricklayers, he drank from their common water-bottle."

The letters written by young men (quoted on pp. 100 ff.) reveal the untold good that can be accomplished by the zealous pastor of souls. Confessors will do well to act on the principle expressed on p. 117: "No man has sunk so low that there can be no come-back for him. All sinners can redeem themselves." The letters offer abundant evidence in support of the rule that the warning in the case of our young people should be given rather a year too soon than one hour too late. To give only one case: "When I was ten I saw my playmates doing something to themselves. I tried it once, and then a thousand times. Oh, if there had only been someone to warn me in time, I wouldn't be hounded now by these memories of my youth. I wouldn't hear tolling in my ears, like a mournful bell, the unceasing refrain, 'There is no joy in your past, and no hope for your future. It is too late; all is over'."

CONSULTATIONES IURIS CANONICI. Vol. I. Romae: Apud Custodiam Librariam Pont. Instituti Utriusque Iuris. 1934. Pp. 370.

In the excellent canonical quarterly *Apollinaris,* published by the professors of the Pontifical Institute of Both Laws, S. Apollinaris, there have appeared numerous *Consultationes,* discussions of various canonical questions, the greater number apparently being answers to inquiries by subscribers. Because, as we are told in the preface, the earlier volumes of the periodical are nearly exhausted, those questions and answers which appeared in the first five and a half volumes have been collected in book form. They are arranged systematically according to the order of the Code. Three indices, one of the canons cited, an alphabetical and a general index, enable one to find with ease the various points of Canon Law that have come under discussion in the pages of this handy volume, which will be useful especially to those who do not subscribe to the magazine in which they were printed originally. As is to be expected in such a collection, it does not endeavor to cover the entire field; while some points are treated with not a little repetition, others of equal importance and frequency do not appear in the book at all. It is regrettable, however, that the consultations are reprinted without change, although a few would seem to require refurbishing. To cite but one example, n. LXXX "De competentia ex domicilio legali in causis matri-

monialibus" has evoked some criticism. The reasons which the author here assigns in support of a decision issued by the Signatura Apostolica appear at variance with the principles of the Code, whereas they would be readily intelligible if they were similar to those against which the Sacred Congregation of Sacraments warns in instruction—*de competentia iudicis in causis matrimonialibus ratione quasi-domicilii,* 23 December, 1929—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* XXII (1930), 168-171. These remarks apply to but a few of the one hundred and eleven consultations in the book. For the most part they give concise, clear and satisfactory answers to the questions raised.

CONCORDATA VIGENTIA NOTIS HISTORICIS ET IURIDICIS DECLARATA. By Angelus Perugini. Romae, Apud Custodiam Librariam Pont. Instituti Utriusque Iuris. 1934. Pp. viii+344.

Numerous are the matters in which the competence of the Church and of the State meet. Too easily they can give rise to unpleasant situations. In order to ease and to anticipate friction in such circumstances the Church has for centuries striven to enter into treaties, usually styled "concordats," with several of the supreme governments of various states. The realignment of several countries after the World War necessitated in many instances readjustment of these affairs. The result has been that the Sovereign Pontiff has entered into several concordats, conventions, *modi vivendi,* etc., which have been published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis.* All these, including the latest one with Austria, the author has assembled in one volume. Moreover he has prefixed a brief historical introduction and a bibliography to each concordat and has annotated the several points of the agreements in explanatory footnotes. Faithful to his purpose he has added in an appendix eight such pacts which date from before the World War (one as early as 1828) and which are still in force. Thus the collection enables one to see at a glance all the concordats, etc., still in force between the Holy See and various nations. It serves at the same time as a continuation of the *Raccolta di Concordati su materie ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e la Autorità civile,* (Rome: Typografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1919), which contains the concordats from 1898 to 1914. Two indices—one of the canons to which reference is made especially in the footnotes, another systematic one of the various topics treated in each concordat—add greatly to the book's usefulness.

LA IGLESIA CATOLICA. Por el R. P. Luis Colomer, O.F.M. Libreria Fenollera, Valencia. 1934. Pp. 535.

Books on religion are an infallible indication of the special needs which are felt by people at different times or in different countries. These needs may be spiritual, intellectual, moral or social. When difficulties or dangers arise, remedies are often proposed which for a time commend themselves because they offer the hope of better things and because they promise rapid and certain results. In most cases these remedies are hastily planned and are often possible of application only through sacrifice of much that is best in life and civilization. Spain is now passing through a crisis. It is in the midst of a social and political upheaval. Many of the extreme leaders of the revolution have made it a condition to complete social readjustment that the Church shall be suppressed and religion superseded or banished. It is with the purpose of pointing out that the Spanish people are likely to abandon the substance for the shadow if they lose sight of the true nature of the Church, that Father Colomer has written this learned and thoroughly devotional book.

The work is frankly apologetic in character, but it is apologetic only in the sense that it insists on relating the Church and its activities with all the activities of man and of society. The Church has a place in the world, gained through centuries of zealous missionary labor and because of the fact that its teaching and spiritual influence opened up a fuller and richer life to all who submitted to its guidance and share in the graces of its sacraments. In the mind of the author the Church is a great organism pulsing with life and vigor, and admirably adapted through its constitution to nurture and strengthen all who belong to its fold. The author makes no attempt, either speculatively or historically, to act as an apologist for the character of church organization. He merely describes it, as it carries on its labors throughout the world by its hierarchy, its diocesan and parish organizations, its religious orders, its confraternities and societies, and shows it to be a great, worldwide, and all pervading organization that carries its influence into all the affairs of private and public life, and which, if unimpeded by private power, always richly rewards those who submit to its authority and its teaching.

From a description of the nature of the Church, the author passes on to an exposition of the manner in which its vital activities for the illumination and guidance of souls through prayer and the sacraments has always been exercised. Underlying all that he says about the constitution and the vivifying activity of the Church is the idea that it is a great organism, with its own laws of life and

growth, laws that make of it the sole source for spiritual progress and the only means of enabling mankind to attain the supreme end of their creation. The end of all creation is the glory of God. How this end may be reached the author points out in several chapters filled with mystical fervor setting forth the relation between the Church and the visible world and the Church and the invisible world. The chapters regarding the relations of the Church to the family and the State are deserving of special thought and study.

The book will be especially valuable in arousing in Catholics a realization of the debt they owe to the Church and to a knowledge of the spiritual and temporal benefits to be derived from loyalty and adherence to its teachings. The author has made abundantly clear that full knowledge of the aim and purpose of the Church is necessary to an understanding of its real nature and its mission.

TUTTI I PAPI. Attraverso le Curiositá e gli Aneddoti. R. Berruti & Co., Torino. 1933. Pp. 764.

These are unconventional lives of the popes, and for that reason, perhaps they will commend themselves more readily to all classes of readers. Following Prosper Merimée's principle that anecdote is the most alluring feature of history, the author has brought together a collection of incidents in the lives of the popes and a number of their unofficial and private utterances which reveal more clearly than a formal history of their acts and achievements, their character and individual peculiarities. The materials for such a series of biographical sketches were, it is hardly necessary to say, less abundant at some periods than in others. The lives of the early popes are singularly deficient in references of a personal or intimate character, and, for this reason, the author was compelled generally to confine himself to a narrative of their public activities. Nevertheless, there are little gleanings of legend about some of the early popes which, if not strict history, reveal at least the estimation in which they were held in succeeding ages. It is only in the later middle ages and in the modern time that stories of the personal peculiarities of the occupants of St. Peter's throne became numerous, and that the daily doings and sayings of the popes were recorded. Many of these incidents and utterances have found their way into the larger lives of the popes, but they are easily overlooked when placed among the ordinary but necessarily momentous details of a pope's daily life.

The lives of rulers are always enmeshed in ceremonial and fixed routine, and it takes a work of this kind to show how completely many, if not most, of the popes retained their individual and per-

sonal characteristics in the midst of multifarious duties which were prescribed for them by the pressing obligations of their exalted office. Until a comparatively recent period the Popes had critics at their very elbows, and they could expect that their lives would be mirrored fairly or maliciously in biting pasquinades or satire. Most often they gave as good as they received, and it is clear from this collection of incidents in the daily lives of the popes that the occupants of the See of Peter were not devoid of wit and the gift of repartee. Of course the author had to be sparing in his accounts of the lives of some of the popes. It may be thought that he restricts himself unnecessarily when speaking of Benedict XIV. Few people dared to cross swords with this learned and saintly pontiff. History has dealt with him in much the same fashion it did with Lincoln, and it is perhaps impossible to determine now how many of the sallies attributed to him are genuine. The quality of his humor may be judged from the fact that his wit is as fresh now as it was the day it was uttered.

The play of humor and the lightning-like terms of thought which marked so many of the popes were not the result of levity, but are merely indications that even in the midst of the gravest emergencies they were masters of the situation and of themselves. These lives will make excellent supplementary reading to Mann and Pastor and the other biographers who so often give the impression that, while gravity and solemnity are essentials in the pope's daily existence, routine is never to be relieved by flashes of wit or outbursts of clever repartee. Among the several interesting appendices in the book are: a list of the Supreme Pontiffs, statistics regarding the length of their reigns, the names of the anti-popes, a discussion of Pope Joan, and the text of the prophecies of St. Malachy.

FRANCE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY. Jules A. Baisnée. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1934. Pp. ix+182.

The author has presented in a clear, scholarly fashion the record of the establishment of the American Catholic hierarchy during the critical period. By the insertion in chronological order of all the necessary documents at the end of the various chapters, he has made further reference work practically unnecessary. These documents he has used correctly and fairly to prove that France did not seek control of the infant Church in America. Naturally, then, he takes issue with the findings of those historians who have followed John Gilmary Shea in maintaining there was a scheme or an intrigue to

subject the Church in the United States to French domination; to this discussion the entire last chapter is devoted.

From this monograph it is evident that there were six currents of thought in regard to the establishment of an American Catholic hierarchy:

1. Franklin's request that the American Church be placed under French rather than English control.
2. Cardinal Antonelli's leaning to the plan that the Papal nuncio in Paris have supervision of the American missions and that a Frenchman might be appointed bishop of these missions.
3. Opposition on the part of the French governmental officials to any French domination or control of these missions.
4. Opposition on the part of the American priests, and especially Carroll, to any control by Propaganda.
5. Plowden's statement that the French were seeking control of the American missions, which Carroll apparently discounted.
6. Carroll's annoyance at the fact that the Holy See was treating with Franklin rather than with a clerical representative of the American missions.

The author's treatment of the last five points establishes their historical truth satisfactorily. But the first point is still open to discussion. Why did Franklin make such a request? Who informed him of the status of the Church in America and what suggestion was made as to its future? Until this be cleared up, Dr. Guilday's assumption that Franklin was "willing, probably anxious, partially to recompense France by allowing the French Government to have control over the Church in the United States" is by no means groundless.

EPITOME IURIS CANONICI. A. Vermeersch, S.J., and J. Creusen, S.J. Tomus II. 5. ed. H. Dessain, Malines-Rome. 1934. Pp. xvi+633.

The preface states that for the fifth edition this second volume of the celebrated *Epitome* has been subjected to careful revision throughout. How well this has been done can easily be verified. The authors have not been content with merely adapting it to the more recent interpretations made by the Holy See: they have also taken cognizance of the advancing doctrine of authors and have moreover expanded and elucidated their explanations or—as they themselves put it—they "have endeavored to polish both their argument and their style".

In size this edition has been enlarged by 68 pages over the fourth edition.[1] This does not include the appendices, which contain the instructions of the Congregation of Sacraments and the Congregation of Religious prescribing in greater detail how the vocation of candidates for orders is to be examined. All told, this is an example of admirable revision of a commentary that on its first appearance was justly acclaimed.

SOCIOLOGY. By Paul J. Glenn, Ph.D., S.T.D., Professor of Philosophy and Social Sciences in the College of St. Charles Borromeo, Columbus. B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. Pp. 409.

Dr. Glenn offers this volume as a text in Sociology. He stresses the fundamental concepts of Catholic philosophy and views social life properly from their standpoint. There is a good summary at the end of each chapter, which he calls an article. This enables one to follow the author's thought readily. His treatment of Evolution might easily mislead one. No one can find fault with his attitude of opposition to it. There may be and probably are " pussy-footers," soft-spoken diplomatists, strainers, compromisers and adjusters (pp. 136-137) among those who are tolerant of the theory of human evolution that does not involve the human soul. But it would have been well to recognize the work of scholarly men to whom these terms can hardly be applied. See, for instance, Chapters 18 and 19 of Messenger's *Evolution and Theology;* or pages 105 to 113 in the scholarly article of the Capuchin Father Jerome Kobel in the Report of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. This is a study in seventy-six pages of the history of the literature on the evolution of man. We read in the discussion on page 121 this statement. " There is no one argument or set of arguments which any scientist can give to prove evolution, but the sum total of the many arguments from the numerous sciences forms a weighty influence in its favor." This more nearly represents the Catholic position.

[1] For a review of the fourth edition of the same volume cf. ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXXXV (1931), 205-206.

Literary Chat

For more than forty years La Bonne Presse has been editing the acts of the Roman Pontiffs in the original text, with a French translation. The present volume, covering the first half of the year 1929, is the twenty-third in the series. The low-priced volumes have been well received in France. *L'Osservatore Romano* thinks the work worthy of imitation in other countries. Until some English or American publisher undertakes the imitation, these volumes, with their readable French translation, may well supply a need over here. (Paris: La Bonne Presse, 5 rue Bayard; pp. 278.)

The biography of *Blessed Gaspar del Bufalo* reads like a life-long fight against the opposition of civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Gaspar del Bufalo founded the Congregation of the Precious Blood shortly after the little Corporal of France left Italy. Del Bufalo himself was exiled from Rome by Napoleon because of his ardent support of the Pope. The rest of his life (1814-1837) he spent giving missions and placing his Congregation on a firm foundation. Priests who are engaged in preaching missions will find much consolation and strength in the life of this nineteenth century pulpit orator. The present life is a free translation from the Italian of Monsignor Sardi by a member of the Congregation of the Precious Blood. The book will find its most appreciative readers in the high school world. (Messenger Print, Carthagena, Ohio. Pp. 156.)

In the *Etudes Carmelitaines* (Vol. II, Oct. 1934, 384 pp., Desclée de Brouwer et Cie, Paris) the names Gustave Thibon and Roland Dalbiez, appearing under such articles as "Nietzsche and St. John of the Cross", "The Philosophical Problem of Hallucination", and "Pride and the Psychoses", arouse and fulfil great expectations. The juxtaposition of the names of proud Nietzsche and humble St. John seems to promise startling revelations. But the article offers nothing new on the psychology of either pride or humility, which qualities these two men exemplify. However, the practical application of psychological facts to the study of character is as interesting as the juxtaposition of the two names.

The discussion of the apparitions at Beauraing will be of interest to many. In general, a happy facility for blending modern psychology and psychiatry with asceticism and mysticism characterizes *Etudes Carmelitaines.*

Prof. Lane Cooper of Cornell University has made a new translation of Aristotle's great work. The version possesses among other virtues those of clarity and simplicity. Notes are numerous and valuable and, enclosed in brackets, are inserted in the body of the text. It is doubted if this method of avoiding footnotes will appeal to most readers. An introduction, analysis and bibliography are also found in the volume. (*The Rhetoric of Aristotle:* an Expanded Translation with Supplementary Examples for Students of Composition and Public Speaking. By Lane Cooper. New York: D. Appleton and Co.)

It is a pleasure to call attention to the work of L. Vaganay on the Gospel of Peter. This Gospel, although not canonical, has been included in the Etudes Bibliques, and Père Lagrange gives as a reason, in the Preface, that it helps one to appreciate and understand the canonical Gospels better. The Gospel of Peter was known to the Fathers from Serapion down (II–III centuries) and references were made to it. Abbé Vaganay gives the various opinions concerning it, its relations to the canonical Gospels, its apologetic tendencies and its historical value. He fixes the date of composition at about 120 A. D., and probably in Syria.

The author gives a very comprehensive commentary on the text. Nothing is omitted and the reader will find abundant material for the better understanding of the early Christian centuries. It is the work of a real scholar and one is gratified to see how sober and conservative criticism has emerged victorious over the imaginative and radical tendencies of the early years of our century. (*L'Evangile de Pierre.* By Abbé Léon Vaganay. Etudes Bibliques. Gabalda, Paris. Pp. xxiv + 358.)

Those interested in the early Catholic history of Texas and in the relations of the French and the Spaniards in East Texas will find in *Records and Studies of the United States Cathoilc Historical Society,* Volume 24, October, 1934, a translation of the story of the Aguaoy expedition to Texas in 1722, intended to protect the mission settlements from the designs of the French. Father Pena, who accompanied the expedition, kept a daily record of its advances. The translation is made by the Rev. Dr. Forrestal, C.S.C. A reprint of the study is issued under the auspices of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Society (pp. 68).

One welcomes with high expectations the appearance of the *New Review,* a monthly. (Vol. I, No. 1, Macmillan and Co., 294 Bow Bazar, Calcutta.) It will be published by the Jesuit Fathers in India and will aim to be "a Catholic journal of general interest dealing with the various fields of human culture and high concerns for the educated reader in India." Four of the articles in the initial number are interpretations of Indian life and thought.

The Catholic Library Association has completed work on the cumulative volume of the *Catholic Periodical Index* to cover the years 1930 to 1933. If there is any value in Catholic periodicals; if they are in position to make any contribution to culture and to the explanation and defence of Catholic faith; if the high appreciation which the Church cherishes for Catholic journalism has any authority, those who patiently work on this Index are benefactors who deserve every honor. Twenty-three priests, sisters, laymen and laywomen coöperate in the work of indexing. At present fifty Catholic periodicals in the fields of education, history, literature, philosophy, religion, Catholic social action, charities, sociology and anthropology are included in the work. It is sponsored by the library section of the National Catholic Educational Association, which section was founded by the Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C. The work is priceless for libraries and for those who wish to know current thought in all fields of Catholic interest. There are seventy-five entries in the Index volume of 1930 and about the same number in 1931 which locate sermons that have appeared in periodicals for the years indicated. This feature of the work has its practical value for the priest. (*Catholic Periodical Index,* H. W. Wilson Company, 950 University Avenue, New York City.)

The indefatigable Fr. F. X. Lasance continues to provide spiritual food for souls. In his *Holiness and Happiness* he offers material for many simple and effective meditations on the life and virtues of St. Teresa of the Child Jesus, together with the Common of her Mass and Novena prayers in her honor. The contents avoid all rigidity of system and retain the undeniable charm of seeming to be casual. The little book has an attractive binding and good printing. (Benziger Brothers, New York. P. 231.)

Books Received

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

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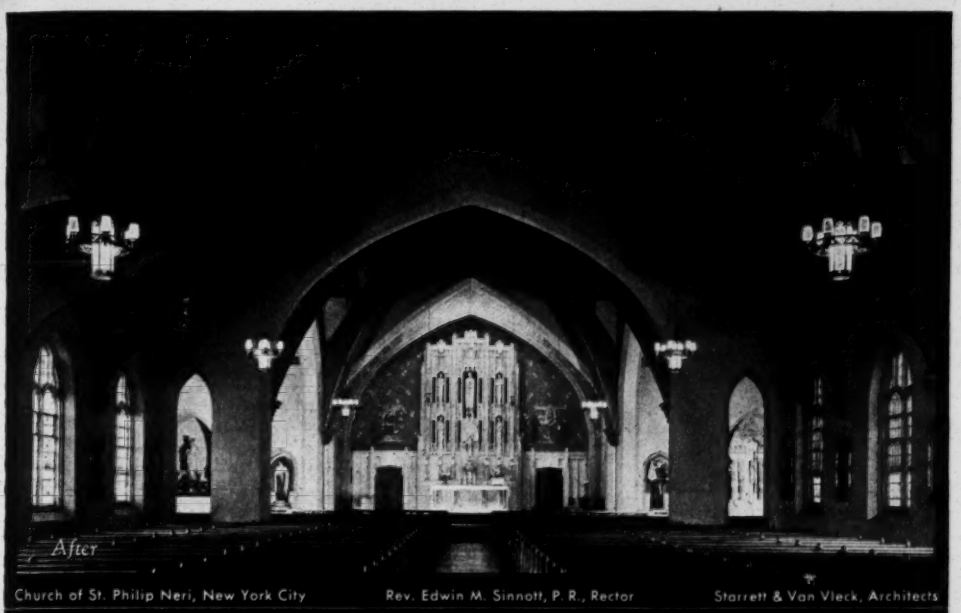

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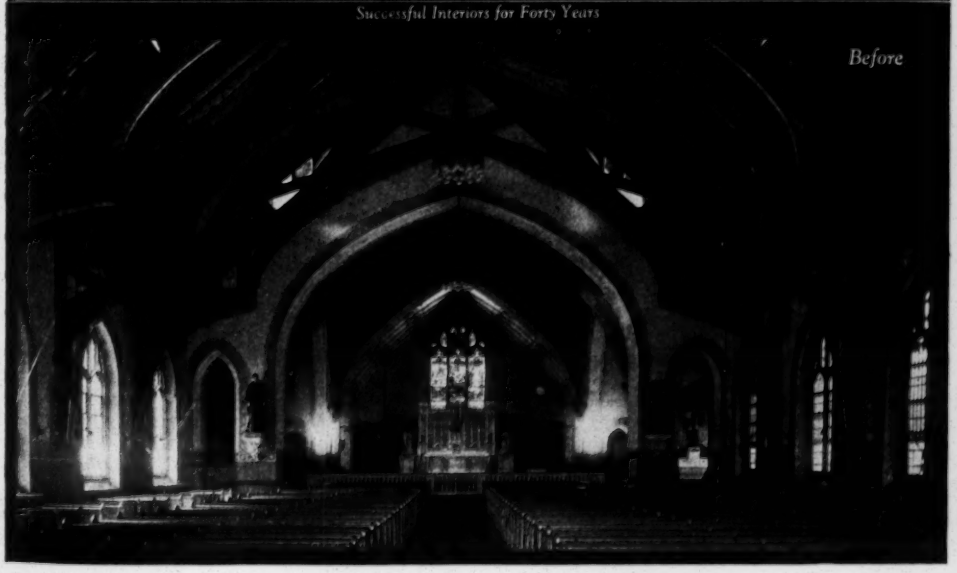

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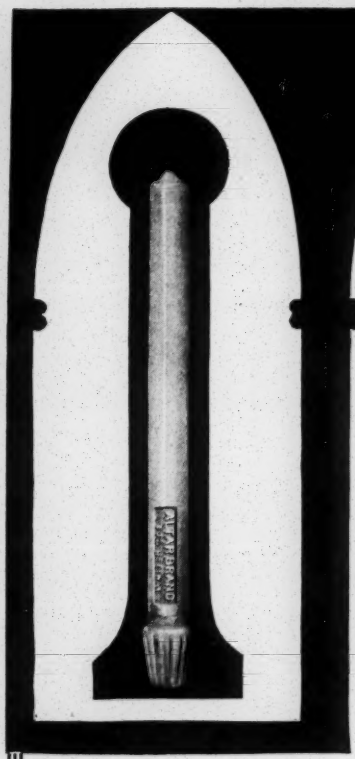

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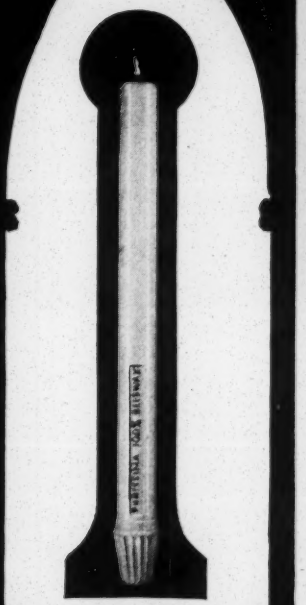

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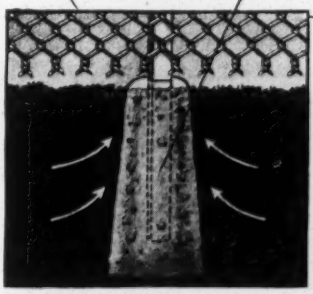

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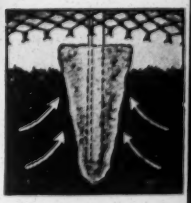

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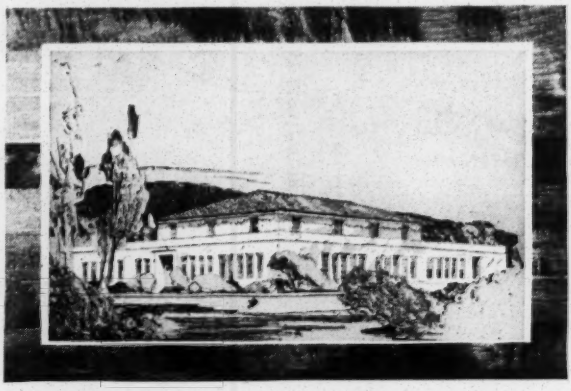

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